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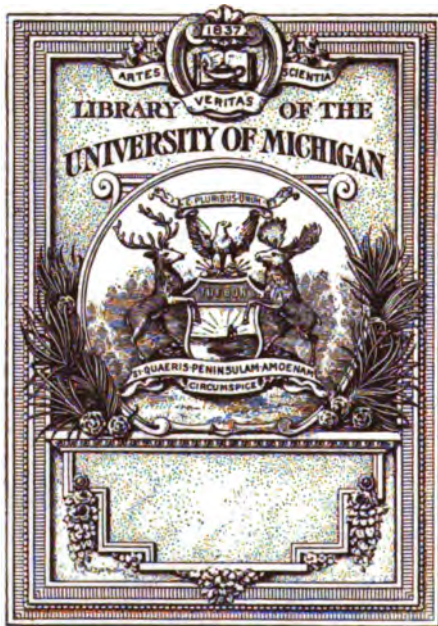
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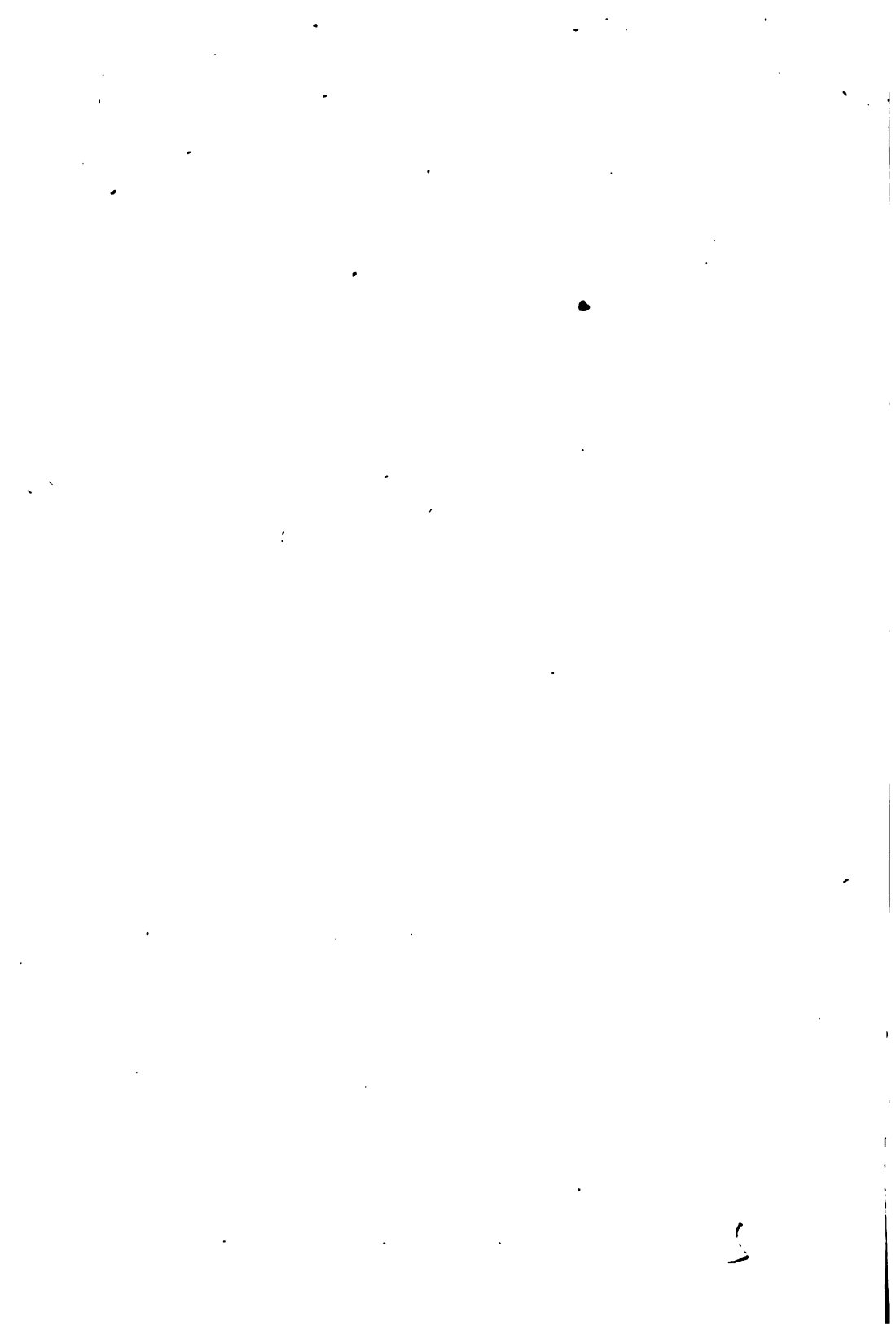
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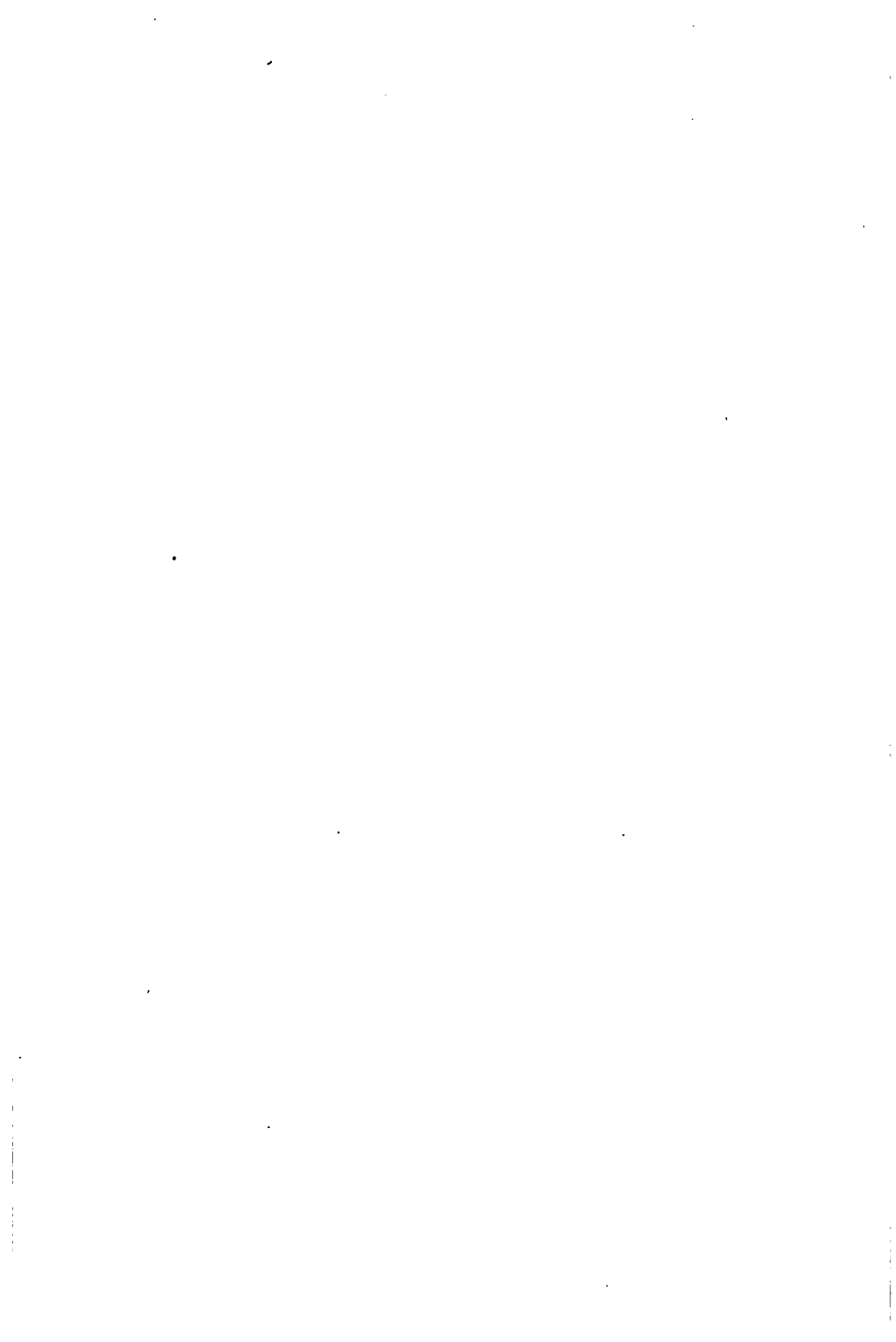
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THE THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY



THE
THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY

AN EXPONENT OF CURRENT CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

AT HOME AND ABROAD

“EXORCISE THE EVIL GENIUS OF DULNESS
FROM THEOLOGY.”

“HOLD TO THE WRITTEN WORD.”

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JULY 1891

The Theological Monthly

THE HIGHER CRITICISM:

AN AMERICAN VIEW.

"AT the request of Christian friends, I speak to you to-night in reference to what is called the 'Higher Criticism,' and especially as it regards prophecy in general and the Book of Isaiah in particular. The 'Lower Criticism' is simply the criticism of the text of the Bible. The 'Higher' determines whether there is any text to criticize, and if so, whether it is from the author whose name it bears, or is a mass of fragments, written by half a dozen different men, at different times, unknown to mankind, and imposed upon the Church by ignorant editors and compilers under a false title.

"With reference to the Book of Isaiah, let me refer you to Professors Briggs, Harper, Cheyne, Dr. Robertson Smith, and George Adam Smith, who have applied courageously the 'Higher Criticism' to the prophet and his labours. On the other side, let me commend to you such scholars as Hengstenburg, Havernick, Nagelsbach, Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, Professor William Henry Green, and many others, who have, in my judgment, victoriously repelled this criticism, and vindicated the unity and integrity of the Book of Isaiah, which still remains so notwithstanding the additional light said to be derived from the Assyrian monuments in favour of its dismemberment. I name these writers because all are in English and accessible to English readers.

NO. I.—VOL. VI.—NEW SERIES.—T. M.

A

"The advocates of the 'Higher Criticism' tell you truly enough that it is a 'New Method of Study,' a 'Part of Historical Discipline,' 'Critical Examination of Evidence'—in short, 'Literary Criticism,' and has to do with determining the genuineness, authenticity, integrity, literary form, and credibility of what is called the Bible. It is what is called 'Introduction to the Study of the Bible.'

"But all this is a very lame representation of what the 'Higher Criticism' is. It is mere 'Literary Criticism'; such criticism as the Greek editors in the time of Pericles applied to Homer, and mediæval men to Virgil, and as you do to Shakespeare and Dante. No more respect is paid to the Bible, as the Word of God, by the higher critic than you would pay to the stories of *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver*, or *Baron Munchausen*. So far as the critic is concerned, the works of John Milton or Richard Baxter are as much the Word of God as the writings of Moses and Isaiah."

[Mr. Gore's view (*Lux Mundi*) of inspiration is this: Every race has its special vocation, of which its great writers are the interpreters. Thus the calling or mission of Rome, let us say, is to teach mankind the science of government, and Virgil is its great interpreter. This calling is a Divine inspiration: in this sense every race has its inspiration and its prophets.]

"The chief postulates, or working rules, of the 'Higher Criticism' are as follows: First, the exclusion of the supernatural from its consideration. This is the foundation of the whole mischief, and enormous enough it is. The higher critic will not listen to any such plea as that the Bible is inspired, is a supernatural production, and cannot be treated by the rules of rationalism and naturalism, but must be treated as the Word of God, full of the prophetic and miraculous, above and beyond reason.

"The second postulate is a consequence of the first. It is that the prophet's vision is limited to his own horizon. He can see no further than his own day. And this they call the 'Time Historical,' or 'Near Horizon.' It excludes the 'remote eschatological horizon' and all between. Isaiah,

living in the time of Sennacherib, can't predict the Babylonian exile, or the restoration of the Jews, because the Babylonian Empire is not yet a fact in history. When our Lord predicted the fall of Jerusalem under Titus that was all possible enough, because it lay within the limits of their generation, and a shrewd statesman might have predicted it. But He was incompetent to predict His second coming in the same perspective, and, trying to do so, missed it badly, and forced us to believe that He made a great mistake ! All the pictures of the future, outside the limits of the prophetic time, are simply 'ideals' projected from the camera of the prophet's self-excited and self-illuminated mind, and thrown on the shifting canvas of the distant future. In short, it is not the Holy Ghost who makes the mistake. It is the necessity of the prophet. He sees the future in the dress of his own times, and can't strip it of its clothes. It is ours to disrobe the predictions, and grasp the 'naked idea.'

"We unite nearly all the postulates here in the next general statement. First : What is possible is probable, and what is probable is actual, if it suits the convenience of the critic. It is not impossible that a great prophet lived within a few years of the fall of Babylon, and foretold the restoration of the Jews. Therefore he did so live, and his name is 'Deutero-Isaiah.' Second : No author shall be allowed, under stress of time, age, circumstance, or change of subject, to vary his style or use words at the age of sixty which he did not use at the age of twenty-five, or write in a different diction, or have any other ideas than he had then. If he deviates from this, he is some other man. Third : Having denied certain doctrines of the Bible, for instance, eternal punishment, and espoused the middle-state post-mortem, missionary idea, the critic, if he finds in the prophet what he disbelieves, says the prophet never wrote it, and expunges it as the interpolation of some compiler or transcriber. Fourth : The last great postulate I name is the limitation of the latter prophecies in Isaiah—chaps. xl. to xlv. to the events of the Babylonian exile, the deliverance under Cyrus, and the return under Joshua and Zerubbabel.

"Proto-Isaiah cannot go beyond the Assyrian, and Deutero-Isaiah cannot go beyond the Babylonian horizon. All outside is 'ideals.' There are ideals inside as well. But these are concrete predictions which are not ideals, and are capable of concrete fulfilment. The concrete is time—historical. There is no concrete for the remote horizon. It is 'ideal.' Such is the 'higher criticism,' the purely 'literary criticism.'

"And what is the result with reference to the Prophet Isaiah and his book? Open your Bibles. Isaiah has sixty-six chapters. From i. to xxxv. are the earliest prophecies; from xl. to xlv. are the later prophecies. Between them are the four historical chapters which serve as a bridge to connect them, viz., xxxvi. to xxxix. The earlier are in three main groups. Group first are i. to xii., against Judah and Israel; group second are xiii. to xxiii., a sheaf of foreign prophecies; group third are xxiv. to xxxv., a sublime apocalypse and oracles against apostates, the whole closing with a grand prediction of the desert blooming as the rose. The four historical chapters follow. The latter prophecies fall into three groups of nine chapters each. Cyrus, the middle point of xl. to xlviii.; the servant of Jehovah, the middle point of xlix. to lvii.; the millennial age and the new heaven and earth, the main point of lviii. to lxvi.

"Such was the Book our Lord held in His hands in the synagogue of Nazareth and read out of it as 'The Book of the Prophet Isaiah'; and from the very part the critics say the Prophet Isaiah did not write. What have they done with it? They have cut out various chapters, leaving only what could be fulfilled in Isaiah's day. Next the four historical chapters are cut out. Then they cut out bodily the entire twenty-seven chapters from the fortieth—the whole latter part, on the ground that Isaiah could not see beyond his own horizon and predict either the exile or the return. These added to the other eliminated sections make forty chapters in all which Isaiah loses out of sixty-six, leaving him only twenty-six. Others tear out more, some a few less. These forty are the work of 'Deutero-Isaiah,' the 'Great Unknown.'

A prophet so great that the Jewish nation cannot tell his name, the place of his birth or of his sepulchre. He surpasses Moses, for the cradle of Moses was known. He excels Melchisedec, for although without mother or father Melchisedec still had a name. The shade of Samuel responded to the incantation of the Witch of Endor, but the 'Great Unknown' is the 'Great Unseen,' and refuses to materialize at the call of the critics. Referred to 100 times in the New Testament, no Apostle or Evangelist can tell who he is.

"There is a tradition, every way believable, that Isaiah the prophet was 'sawn asunder' during the reign of bloody Manasseh. Our critics not content with this, have split him into fragments, like the body of Orpheus dismembered by the Thracian women. It is a question whether rationalistic science, which ignores the supernatural and inspiration altogether in its process and inquiries, shall be carried over in the name of 'literary criticism' to sit in judgment on the Bible, and Christ and His Apostles be convicted hereby, not only as fallible witnesses, but as dupes of the scribes, as the critics now would have it. Because we find predictions of the fall of Babylon in chapters i. to xxxv. must they be cut out? Because we find a historic situation that belongs to Assyria in xl. to xlv. must it be eliminated? Because predictions in their majestic scope sweep over ages must they be turned into 'ideals' and Isaiah be made to promenade all the way from Hezekiah to Judas Maccabeus, a tramp of 550 years? Are we to regard everything except the 'idea' in prophecy as 'non-essential detail' (Briggs), 'Oriental phantasmagoria' (Arnold), 'artistic manipulation' (Graf), 'Arabesque word ornament' (Dahm), 'a generous modification' (Smith), 'mere drapery' (Harper), 'mere envelope' (Cheyne), 'splendid anthropomorphic diction' (Driver), 'the rough rind of a sacred bulb to be peeled off and thrown away' (Renan)? Is only the 'concept' inspired, and that half human? Is all the rest mere shell?

"The whole book of the Prophet Isaiah was unanimously attributed to the 'son of Amos' by the great synagogue, composed of such men as Ezra, Nehemiah, Zechariah, and

Haggai, 1,000 years before Christ. The latter synagogue used it every Sabbath day as the 'Book of Isaiah,' and fifteen out of sixteen of its prophetic readings are taken from chapters xl. to lxvi. The part our Lord read in the synagogue at Nazareth and expressly said to be from Isaiah was in the part declared by the critics not to be Isaiah's. The excluded chapters were in the manuscript copy of the 'Book of Isaiah,' which the Ethiopian read while sitting in his chariot. Josephus narrates how Cyrus issued his edict for the restoration of the Jews after he had seen the prediction concerning himself in the 'Book of Isaiah.' The four evangelists and the Apostles regard these parts as the work of Isaiah. They refer to the whole book 162 times, and quote 125 verses. The Talmud ascribes the whole to Isaiah; the Targums do the same. The Baptist, filled with the Holy Ghost, says Isaiah was the author of chapter xl. 'The voice of one crying in the wilderness' was forespoken by the Prophet Esaias. Matthew declared that the writer of chapter xlii. was Isaiah. He says Jesus withdrew Himself from the multitude, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet: Behold my servant whom I uphold.' Matthew declared again that chapter liii. was the production of Isaiah. 'Jesus healed the sick, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying Himself took our infirmities and bore our sicknesses.' John, Paul, and Luke are all witnesses. The New Testament writers do distinguish in the clearest manner between the 'Book of Isaiah' and the 'Person of Isaiah'—the 'Book' and the 'Prophet' who uttered it. There can be no doubt here with unbiassed minds. The one is called the 'Book Esaias,' the other the 'Prophet Esaias.'

"This testimony formulated, asserts the following propositions, viz., that the words of the Prophet Esaias were spoken by the Prophet Esaias, who spoke by the Holy Ghost. So they all say—the whole Jewish Church, all the Evangelists, all the Apostles, Christ Himself, and the Baptist, His great forerunner. And the strength of this testimony covers the entire body of prophecies excluded by the higher critics.

The argument reduces itself to these alternatives, either the supernatural or the natural ; either miracle or absurdity. For us who believe, the choice is not difficult. I say with Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, of Princeton—the greatest scholar this country has ever produced, and who, to use the admission of Dr. Philip Schaff, ‘handled the higher critics without gloves’—that the criticism we are called to respect ‘destroys the inspiration of the Scriptures, and rests on assumptions as arbitrary and capricious as the adventurous spirits who conceived them.’ I believe ‘Isaiah the son of Amos’ was the author of ‘the words of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, which the Holy Ghost spake by him,’ and that he wrote the history of Hezekiah, and was capable of writing the four historical chapters which bind the other portions together. I believe that Isaiah predicted the exile, the fall of Babylon, and the restoration of the Jews from Babylon’s captivity. I believe he predicted the whole future of the Jewish race, their Roman dispersion, their final gathering to their own land, the second coming of their glory. I believe the one of whom he spoke was Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, the Son of Abraham, the Son of the Virgin, the Son of God.

“We need no ‘lamp shining in a dark place.’ The sun is waxing to the zenith, and will stay there eternally! The whole planet is undergoing a progressive sanctification, notably in New York, Boston, and Chicago, and the brilliant centres of advancing Christendom. Men can preach and teach what they please, and forbid what they choose with ecclesiastical impunity. Revision is in the air! Whatever is not conformed to ‘criticism’ is uncritical and unscientific. Andover and Union lead the way, Yale assisting. Peter did not think so ; nor did Isaiah—not even Deutero-Isaiah. ‘Darkness is to brood over the nations, in spite of their culture and progress, until the day dawn,’ and ‘gross darkness is to shroud the people’ (Isa. lx. 2). Then the ‘sunrise’ will shine over Jerusalem, and the nations will gaze.”

N. WEST, D.D.

JOHN STUART MILL AND CHRISTIANITY.

I.

AMONG the influential thinkers of the last half century, John Stuart Mill held deservedly an honourable place. His influence was even more marked in the departments of inductive logic, political economy, and the theory of government, than in those of speculative philosophy and morals. Of recent years, this influence has greatly waned. This may be attributed to two causes: first, the rise of an evolutionary philosophy, chiefly identified with the name of Mr. Spencer, which seeks in heredity, and in the accumulated experiences of generations, the explanation of that intuitional knowledge which Mr. Mill was disposed altogether to deny; and second, the revival in certain quarters of a more spiritual and idealistic philosophy, acknowledging its indebtedness to Kant and Hegel, of which, perhaps, the late Mr. Green, of Oxford, was the most distinguished representative. So poor and barren, indeed, was that type of Associationalism or Sensationalism which Mr. Mill received as an inheritance from his father, that reaction from it was inevitable. Mill himself perceived its weakness, and sought to improve upon it; but the elements he introduced into it were fundamentally inconsistent with its first principles, and helped rather to its disintegration than to its strengthening. This is specially manifest in the modifications he introduced into the Benthamite Utilitarianism, on which a word will be said farther on.

It is proposed in this and a succeeding paper to speak of the relations of John Stuart Mill to Christianity. Here it is less Mr. Mill's greater works than some of his minor writings, his essays on "Liberty" and "Utilitarianism," and, above all, his remarkable *Autobiography*, and his *Three Essays on Religion*, both posthumously published, which come into

consideration. In taking this subject, we aim at more than merely the defence of Christianity against the misconceptions of it, and unfavourable estimates of its doctrines, found in Mr. Mill's writings. Criticism of these misconceptions, and of Mr. Mill's own position, there must be ; but there is another side of Mr. Mill's teaching to which, we venture to think, justice has not always been done, and which brings him nearer to Christianity than is commonly supposed. There is much in his writings which is not opposed to Christianity ; much which is in affinity with it ; much which, we may confidently say, was consciously or unconsciously inspired by it. It is a much pleasanter task to dwell on this than to point out his remaining faults and misunderstandings, though this also will require to be attempted. It is a most interesting fact that as Mr. Mill's development progressed, these approximations to Christianity grew more numerous. Though still leaving many things to be desired, they were probably greater than, up to the end of his life, he was willing explicitly to avow.

HIS EARLY TRAINING.

To judge Mill fairly, it is imperative that we should take account of the point from which he started. No man, probably, ever started life with a worse chance of becoming a believer. His father, James Mill, was a most remarkable man. The son of a Scottish tradesman and small farmer, he was educated for the Church, and even received licence as a preacher. Those who are fond of tracing the influence of heredity, might see in this Scotch extraction some explanation of the younger Mill's inbred metaphysical turn, and a clue to his later fondness for theological studies. Having completed his curriculum, however, James Mill threw off all belief in religion, and soon went so far on the other side as, in his son's words, to regard it "with the feelings due, not to a mere mental delusion, but to a great moral evil."¹ It is an amusing glimpse we get of him, improvidently marrying, and earning a precarious support for his increasing family by writing

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 40.

in periodicals in vigorous defence of the doctrines of Malthus on Population! Under this stern mentor, the young Mill received a training which, it is comforting to reflect, has rarely had its parallel. He was taken in hand from his earliest years, in order that his mind might be, as it were, made to order. As a child and boy, his mind was stuffed with Greek, Latin, history, mathematics, logic, political economy; all most thoroughly taught, indeed—so much so that, by his eighth year, he tells us, he had read through a large part of Greek literature, including the whole of Herodotus and Xenophon, and six dialogues of Plato, and had completed his education in all the above-named branches by his thirteenth year, yet with an utter neglect of the training of the affections. From this course of instruction religion was carefully excluded, so that, says Mr. Mill, “I am one of the very few examples, in this country, of one who has not thrown off religious belief, but who never had it; I grew up in a negative state with regard to it.”¹ It is said that when John was about fourteen, his father told him it was high time he should know there was no God, but he was not to mention it in company. We would infer, however, that it was at a much earlier period that young Mill had this lesson impressed on him. The point to which his father had come regarding the origin of things was that on this subject nothing whatever could be known, only we might be certain that a world such as this, so full of evil, cannot be the work of an author combining infinite power with perfect goodness. His opinion of Christianity was of the most unfavourable kind. “I have a hundred times heard him say,” writes his son, “that all ages and nations have represented their gods as wicked, in a constantly increasing progression, that mankind have gone on adding trait after trait till they reached the most perfect conception of wickedness which the human mind can devise, and have called this God, and prostrated themselves before it. This *ne plus ultra* of wickedness he considered to be embodied in what is commonly presented to mankind as the creed of Christianity.”²

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 43.

² *Autobiography*, p. 40.

It is wonderful that a system of training of this kind left any spring or vitality whatever in the mind submitted to it. From the commencement, however, we see evidence of tastes and sympathies in the young student's nature which were higher than the creed in which he was being educated. The education itself, with all its faults, was not without its better side. One good result of his father's teaching was the strict and high value he was led to set on truth, from which sprang that intellectual honesty which was a characteristic of his mind throughout, even as it has left its impress on all his writings. From Bentham, too, his father's favourite authority, he learned to look on the promotion of human happiness, not his own individual happiness, but the greatest happiness of the greatest number, as the grand end of life; and this wrought in him a spirit of unselfishness, and of devotion to the general good, as he understood it, which only grew stronger as years advanced. But other mental tendencies strike us from the first from the contrast they offer to the character of his training. It is with a sense of surprise and refreshment that we learn from his *Autobiography* how in early life the reading of Pope's Homer was the opening of a new world to him; how he read it from twenty to thirty times through; how his favourite poets at a later time were Wordsworth, Shelley, and Coleridge; how he thought himself, for his mental culture, more indebted to Plato than to any other; how from early days there floated before his mind a vision of an ideal moral perfection which was to him, in a sense, in place of God; how his human affections, long repressed, welled up, when thrown into company with kindred spirits, in the formation of strong and warm friendships, rising latterly, in one instance at least—that of the lady who ultimately became his wife—almost to the height of worship. Taken in its entirety, however, the earlier period of Mill's career, and what may be called his first literary period, are undoubtedly marked by a certain narrow self-complacency, an ungenial egotism, a certain priggish self-satisfaction, not over-pleasant to contemplate. From this he was delivered by a remarkable crisis in his mental history.

A CRISIS.

Readers of Carlyle will remember the description he gives in his *Sartor* and the *Reminiscences* of that peculiar crisis in his mental history which he calls his "conversion." He fell into a state, protracted through long years, of utter doubt and unrest. "So had it lasted," he says, "as in bitter protracted death agony, long years. The heart within me, unvisited by any heavenly dewdrop, was smouldering in sulphurous, slow-consuming fire. . . . Having no hope, neither had I any definite fear, were it of man or devil. . . . And yet, strangely enough, I lived in a continual, indefinite, pining fear, tremulous, pusillanimous apprehensions of I knew not what. . . . As if the heavens and the earth were but boundless jaws of some devouring monster, wherein I, palpitating, waiting to be devoured." And in a later passage: "Let me rest here, for I am way-weary and life-weary. I will rest here were it but to die: to die or to live is alike to me, alike insignificant."¹ An almost identical experience to that here described was passed through by John Stuart Mill. Things had been going on in a self-satisfied way with him since about 1826—his twentieth year—when he fell into a dull state, and was led to ask himself the question whether, supposing all his objects in life were realized, all the changes in institutions and opinions he looked forward to completely effected, he would be happy. And an irrepressible self-consciousness within him answered distinctly "No." "At this," he says, "my heart sank within me; the whole foundation on which my life was constructed fell down. . . . I seemed to have nothing left to live for. For months the cloud grew thicker and thicker—

‘ A grief without a pang, dark and drear,
A drowsy, stifled, unimpassioned grief,
Which finds no natural outlet of relief
In word, or sigh, or tear.’ ”²

In this trouble he could not go to his father, for he felt instinctively that even if he could be made to understand his

¹ *Sartor Resartus*, II., chap. vii.

² *Autobiography*, p. 134.

state of mind, he was not the physician who could heal it. He frequently asked himself if he could, or was bound, to go on living in this manner, and he generally answered that he did not think he could bear it beyond a year. This was a most peculiar experience, and had the effect of discovering to Mill that his life hitherto had really rested on an egotistical basis, and that what it needed was a new foundation. It is interesting here again to compare Mill and Carlyle. Carlyle was delivered, after many purgatory pains, by the help of Goethe, but more by recovered faith in God, as borne in on him by the streaming life of nature. Mill was delivered, not dissimilarly, by the influence of Wordsworth, leading him back to the fresh fountains of feeling and joy in nature, but still more by the discovery that one's own happiness, whatever disguises of unselfishness it may take, can never be an adequate end in life, that it is only as we get out of ourselves, and identify ourselves with the ends and happiness of others, that life becomes truly worth living. "Those only are happy, I thought," so he writes, "who have their minds fixed on some object other than their own happiness: on the happiness of others, on the improvement of mankind; even on some art or pursuit, followed not as a means, but as an ideal end. . . . Ask yourself whether you are happy, and you cease to be so. The only chance is to treat, not happiness, but some end external to it, as the purpose of life." Strange doctrine this, it will be thought, for a philosophical Utilitarian. On the inconsistency of Mr. Mill's theoretical positions we shall comment later. But it will not be questioned that, as compared with his former standpoint, the experience itself marks a great advance, and is a measurable approximation towards Christianity. Christianity must always look with interest on those who, like Mill and Carlyle, though without its fold, have yet passed through an experience which to them was a kind of new birth, which made different and better men of them. It will accept the testimony which such experience offers to the unstilled cravings of the human soul for a higher than finite good; and will see in its outcome in Mill's case a confirmation of Christ's fundamental law: "Whosoever will

save his life shall lose it ; but whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it."¹

HIS LATER POSITIONS.

With this knowledge of Mr. Mill's *terminus a quo*, we proceed to consider his approximations to Christianity as shown in his later writings. The results may not seem great, but we have to remember that the starting-point was practically zero. Passing by, then, intermediate steps, we have to note ultimate results. The *Three Essays on Religion* are not all of the same quality, nor is it easy perfectly to harmonize all their positions with one another. That on "Theism," however, as it is the latest, so it is the maturest, and it represents a distinct advance upon the other two. We mark this change, as compared with his earlier views, first, in his general estimate of the value and influence of religion ; second, in his treatment of theism ; third, in his acceptance of the hope of immortality ; and fourth, in his deep and almost worshipful reverence for Christ. The consideration of Mr. Mill's views on

I.—THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

will naturally blend itself with the treatment of the other topics, and we shall do little more here than refer to it. We saw in an earlier part of the paper with how unfavourable an estimate he began of the influence of religion on the progress of mankind. Even in the essay on "The Utility of Religion" in the *Three Essays*,² he is of opinion that the benefits at present supposed to be derived from religion might be gained by a "system of rules for the guidance and government of human life," provided these were sufficiently reinforced by authority, by early education, and by the force of public opinion. It will be seen from passages quoted below that in the later essay on "Theism," he gets clearly beyond this standpoint, and attributes to belief in God and to the hope of immortality an influence for good which nothing else can supply in the same degree. The second topic :

¹ Luke ix. 24.

² *Three Essays*, p. 78.

II.—THEISTIC BELIEF,

will require a more extended handling. Mill's earliest position was practically that of atheism, though dogmatic atheism he always rejected; and he had heard his father express opinions in favour of the Manichæan hypothesis of a good and an evil principle struggling against each other for the government of the universe. His latest position was that "the adaptations in nature afford a large balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence"; but, in this profiting by his father's hint, he further thought that the evil and imperfection of the world were such that the Creator must be conceived of as either not perfectly omnipotent or not perfectly wise and good. He rejects the idea that the preserving agencies in nature are wielded by one being, and the destroying agencies by another, and falls back on the supposition that that which limits the Creator's power is an intractable material he had to deal with—this intractable material being matter and force, which he supposes to have an existence independently of the Creator, and to be the raw stuff on which He had to work. "There is in nature," he says, "no reason whatever to suppose that either Matter or Force, or any of their properties, were made by the Being who was the author of the collocations by which the world is adapted to what we consider as its purposes; or that he has power to alter any of these properties."¹

This seems a very meagre and negative conclusion, especially when the possibility remains that the knowledge and wisdom, as well as the power of the Creator, may be limited, and when it is argued that though nature affords some indications of benevolence, it affords none of the justice of the Creator. All the more remarkable, to our mind, is the evident earnestness with which Mr. Mill, for practical working purposes, surrenders himself to a totally different conception. The real interest of this dualistic conception to Mr. Mill evidently is, not that it limits the knowledge and goodness of the Creator, but that it enables him to believe in them—to see

¹ *Three Essays*, p. 178. Cf. the earlier tentative statement on p. 116.

a way to a Theodicy. The power of the Creator once admitted to be limited by external obstacles, "there is nothing," he thinks, "to disprove the supposition that his goodness is complete, and that the ideally perfect character in whose likeness we should wish to form ourselves, and to whose supposed approbation we refer our actions, may have a real existence in a Being to whom we owe all such good as we enjoy"; and the whole tenor of the essay shows that this is the alternative which Mr. Mill would have us practically accept. The value of "the undoubting belief of the real existence of a Being who realizes our own best ideas of perfection, and of our being in the hands of that Being as the ruler of the universe," as giving an increase of force to our aspirations after goodness "beyond what they can receive from reference to a merely ideal conception," is unhesitatingly recognized; and though we are frequently reminded that the moral perfection of Deity cannot be proved, yet practically we are bid to cherish this belief, and to regard ourselves in the work of serving mankind as "co-operating with the unseen Being to whom we owe all that is enjoyable in life." This last is a favourite idea with Mr. Mill, and reminds us of Paul's thought of being "co-workers" with God, though Paul certainly did not feel the need of limiting God's omnipotence to secure that end. "One elevated feeling," says Mr. Mill, "this form of religious idea admits of, which is not open to those who believe in the omnipotence of the good principle in the universe, the feeling of helping God—of requiting the good he has given us by a voluntary co-operation which he, not being omnipotent, really needs, and by which a somewhat nearer approach may be made to the fulfilment of his purposes . . . in which every, even the smallest, help to the right side has its value in promoting the very slow, and often almost insensible, progress by which Good is gradually gaining ground over Evil, yet gaining it so visibly at considerable intervals as to promise the very distant, but not uncertain final victory of Good."¹ Are we not right in saying that Mill

¹ *Three Essays*, p. 252-56; cf. p. 117.

has here entered the region of religious faith—that his religious feeling outstrips the logic of his understanding, and unites him with a Power above, at once wise and good, whose purpose and will are gradually realizing themselves in the history of mankind? To see the full influence of this belief, however, we must pass next to consider the place he allows to

III.—THE HOPE OF IMMORTALITY.

It is safe to say that Mr. Mill began without belief in immortality ; he ended, as we are now to see, with the view that “the indulgence of hope with regard to the government of the universe and the destiny of man after death, while we recognize as a clear truth that we have no ground for more than a hope, is legitimate and philosophically defensible.” The ordinary proofs of immortality, it should be said at once, Mr. Mill sets aside—his criticism of them will be examined in the next paper. The proofs even from natural theology, he dismisses as inadequate. “We have now to consider,” he says, “what inference can legitimately be drawn from these premises in favour of a future life. It seems to me, apart from express revelation, none at all.”¹ It would almost seem as if, in regard to immortality, as formerly in regard to the existence of God, Mr. Mill took delight in reducing the logical evidence to its absolute minimum. But here again a strange thing occurs. What Mr. Mill takes away with the one hand, he gives back, and that in no scant measure, with the other. The arguments he has thrust out by the door of the head he brings back by the door of the heart. In the first place he is strong and clear on the point that if there is no positive evidence *for* immortality, there is as little positive evidence *against* it. “There is, therefore, in science, no evidence against the immortality of the soul but that negative evidence which consists in the absence of evidence in its favour. And even the negative evidence is not so strong as negative evidence often is.”² Dealing with the supposed “presumption against the immortality of the think-

¹ *Three Essays*, p. 208.

² *Three Essays*, p. 201.

ing and conscious principle from the analysis of all other objects of nature," he says, "A flower of the most exquisite form and colouring grows up from a root, comes to perfection in a few weeks or months, and lasts only a few hours or days. Why should it be otherwise with man? Why, indeed? But why, also, should it *not* be otherwise? Feeling and thought are not merely different from what we call inanimate matter, but are at the opposite pole of existence, and analogical inference has little or no validity from the one to the other. Feeling and thought are much more real than anything else; they are the only things which we directly know to be real, all things else being merely the unknown conditions on which these, in our present state of existence, or in some other, depend."¹ Next, as to the validity of the common arguments from the goodness of God, the improbability that He would ordain the annihilation of His richest work, after the greater part of its few years of life had been spent in the acquisition of faculties which time is not allowed him to turn to fruit, &c., he grants that these might be arguments in a world "the constitution of which made it possible without contradiction to hold it for the work of a Being at once omnipotent and benevolent,"² but thinks they are deprived of their force by the doubt as to whether the Creator *could*, even if He *would*, have granted us eternal life. As, however, there are no reasons to the contrary, we are entitled, if we so please, to *hope* that the boon will be granted us by the goodness of the Creator. "Appearances point," he says, "to the existence of a Being who has great power over us—all the power implied in the creation of the Kosmos, or of its organized beings, at least—and of whose goodness we have evidence, though not of its being his predominant attribute; and as we do not know the limits either of his power or of his goodness, there is room to hope that both the one and the other may extend to granting us this gift provided that it would be really beneficial to us."³

¹ *Three Essays*, p. 202.

² *Three Essays*, p. 209.

³ *Three Essays*, p. 210.

If this were all, it might seem that but a slender basis was given even for the hope of immortality, which would thus become an exercise of optimistic imagination, as indeed Mr. Mill appears sometimes to represent it. When, however, he goes on to urge it as almost a duty to cherish this hope, other reasons come into view which give it a somewhat new complexion. For why, if the matter is doubtful, should we cherish this hope at all? The reason given is the beneficial influence of this hope. In the essay on "The Utility of Religion," indeed, he had suggested that as the condition of mankind became improved, they would care less and less for this hope. But in the later essay on "Theism" he strikes a higher key-note, and makes no reservations. "The beneficial influence of such a hope," he says, in words which are well worth quoting, "is far from trifling. It makes life and human nature a far greater thing to the feelings, and gives greater strength as well as greater solemnity to all the sentiments which are awakened in us by our fellow-creatures and by mankind at large. It allays the sense of that irony of nature which is so painfully felt when we see the exertions and sacrifices of a life culminating in the formation of a wise and noble mind, only to disappear from the world when the time has just arrived at which the world seems about to begin reaping the benefit of it. . . . But the benefit consists less in the presence of any specific hope than in the enlargement of the general scale of the feelings; the loftier aspirations being no longer kept down by a sense of the insignificance of human life—by the disastrous feeling of 'not worth while.'"¹ These things, and others that Mr. Mill mentions, feed hope. Do they not do more? Are they not proofs that immortality is that belief which at once squares with the highest conceptions we can form of God, and with the constitution of man's nature at its noblest and best—that it is needful for him, if he is either to be or to do his best in this confined and narrow life—that, therefore, it is on the face of it an eminently reasonable belief. Human nature without immortality would, on Mr. Mill's own showing, be an even worse contradiction

¹ *Three Essays*, p. 249.

than he supposes nature to be on the hypothesis of an infinitely wise and powerful Creator.

The general result of these speculations, in Mr. Mill's own mind, is greatly to exalt the beneficial influence of a religion accompanied with supernatural hopes. On the one hand, there is the service done to human excellence by theism in familiarizing the imagination "with the conception of a morally perfect being," and through "the habit of taking the approbation of such a being as the *norma*, or standard, to which we refer, and by which to regulate our own characters and lives";¹ on the other hand, there is the elevating and enlarging influence of the hope of immortality above referred to. Above both of these, however, or rather, as the means by which both are focussed in their most powerful form upon us, Mr. Mill next mentions—

THE HISTORICAL CHRIST.

To the faith of Christendom, Christ is not mere man, but God Incarnate, and Mr. Mill fully acknowledges the influence of this belief. "The most valuable part of the effect which Christianity has produced by holding up in a Divine Person a standard of excellence and a model for imitation, is available even to the absolute unbeliever, and can never more be lost to humanity. . . . It is the God Incarnate, more than the God of the Jews or of nature, who, being idealized, has taken so great and salutary a hold on the modern mind."² Mr. Mill, however, is not an absolute unbeliever, and we go on to ask, what is his final and deliberate judgment upon Christ? We must abbreviate the passage, but the main points are brought out in the following extracts:—"Whatever else may be taken away from us," he says, "by rational criticism, Christ is still left; a unique figure, not more unlike all his predecessors than all his followers, even those who had the direct benefit of his personal teaching. It is no use to say that Christ as exhibited in the Gospels is not historical, and that we know not how much of what is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of his followers. The tradition

¹ *Three Essays*, p. 250.

² *Three Essays*, p. 253.

of followers suffices to insert any number of marvels, and may have inserted all the miracles which he is reputed to have wrought. But who among his disciples or among their proselytes was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? About the life and sayings of Jesus there is a stamp of personal originality combined with profundity of insight which must place the Prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspiration, in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast. When this pre-eminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer, and martyr to that mission, who ever existed on earth, religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in pitching on this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity; nor even now would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete, than to endeavour so to live that Christ would approve our life. When to this we add that to the rational sceptic it remains a possibility that Christ actually was what he supposed himself to be, not God but a man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God to lead mankind to truth and virtue, we may well conclude that the influences of religion on the character which will remain after rational criticism has done its utmost against the evidences of religion, are well worth preserving."¹

This, indeed, is far from an adequate confession of faith in Christ, yet of him who makes it we are surely entitled to say, as Christ said of the candid scribe in the Gospels, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God";² or, as He said of another, "He that is not against us is for us."³ Perhaps more real faith, as certainly more real reverence and practical submission, breathes in Mill's tribute of honour than in many more orthodox acknowledgments.

JAMES ORR, D.D.

¹ *Three Essays*, pp. 253-55.

² Mark xii. 34.

³ Luke ix. 50.

JOHN XIX. 10, 11.

“Pilate therefore saith unto Him, Speakest Thou not to ME? (ἐμοί). Knowest thou not that I have authority (jurisdiction) to release Thee, and have authority (jurisdiction) to crucify Thee? Jesus answered, Thou wouldest have no authority (jurisdiction) with regard to Me, unless it had been given thee ἀνωθεν: therefore he who delivered Me unto thee hath greater sin.”

THE common interpretations of this passage are open to most serious logical objections. Taking the ordinary acceptance of the word ἀνωθεν, *from above* = *from heaven*, we find Pilate saying to our Lord, “Knowest Thou not that I have authority to release Thee, and have authority to crucify Thee?” and Jesus answering, “Thou wouldest have no authority with regard to Me, if it had not been given thee *from above*.” If what had not been given Pilate from above? Evidently, εἶναι ἐξουσίαν κατ’ ἐμοῦ, “to have authority or jurisdiction with regard to Me,” which is the only supplement that can account for the neuter δεδομένον. Thus far all is well. But our Lord proceeds to say, “Therefore he who delivered Me over to thee hath greater sin.” Several alternatives present themselves here as regards the meaning of ὁ παραδούς, “he who delivered Me over to thee.” If Pilate’s authority came directly from ὁ παραδούς, and ὁ παραδούς and ἀνωθεν refer alike to God, then διὰ τοῦτο, *therefore*, is logical in itself, but the idea involved is simple blasphemy. If, on the other hand, Caiaphas be considered as ὁ παραδούς, the argument, logically considered, is simple nonsense. The fact that Pilate had received authority over our Lord *from heaven*, which he would not otherwise have had, cannot possibly be the ground of the statement that Caiaphas, or possibly Caiaphas and the leading Jews, had a greater share of sin in the matter than Pilate.

Commentators are therefore reduced to the introduction of a proposition respecting the possession of *insight* on the part of Caiaphas as regards our Lord’s character, whereas Pilate only possessed authority or jurisdiction over His person. Thus the sin of Caiaphas is supposed to consist in deliberately and knowingly passing our Lord over to the

jurisdiction of a magistrate, who could inflict the capital punishment which he himself could not. So that Pilate sinned in ignorance, though against his conscience, while Caiaphas sinned against light and knowledge. This may certainly be taken to show how Caiaphas's sin was greater than that of Pilate, but it utterly fails to exhibit how the sin of the former was aggravated by the fact that Pilate's possession of authority or jurisdiction had been given him from heaven.

Again—not to insist upon the absence of any allusion to insight in the passage itself, or to lay any stress upon the obvious argument that this is forcing a sense into the words of Jesus which would not have been likely to occur to Pilate at the moment—this interpretation labours under a difficulty which I cannot but consider insuperable. It is in direct contravention of the express testimony of St. Peter corroborated by St. Paul. St. Peter's statement (Acts iii. 17) is this: "And now, brethren, I wot that in *ignorance* ye did it, *as did also your rulers*" (ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν). This is corroborated by St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 7, 8), who says, "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before time was (πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων) unto our glory, which *none of the rulers* (ἄρχοντες) of this world knew; *for, had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.*" How, in the face of these statements, is it possible for any one to maintain the legitimacy of the insertion into our Lord's argument of an assumed proposition respecting the possession of *insight* on the part of Caiaphas? It is futile to quote the quasi-prophecy of Caiaphas (John xi. 50), "Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not"; for in the very next verse it is implied that Caiaphas himself did not understand his own words: "And this he spake not from himself (ἑαυτοῦ), but being high priest that year he prophesied," being, as has been justly remarked, "the involuntary organ of the Holy Spirit."

But in the present instance there is really very little difficulty, though the first proposer of the way of escape happens

to be a person in no very good repute among orthodox theologians. Semler, the celebrated rationalist, writes a note on this passage in his *Paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John*, which runs as follows:—

“Δεδομένον ἄνωθεν. Almost everybody explains this *from God, from heaven*, as John iii. 31; James i. 17; iii. 15, 17, and there is no doubt but that it can be thus explained here also. But I do not find that Pilate was so likely to understand this phrase in this, as in another way. He *who delivered Me over to thee*, one over whom thou thyself, didst thou follow justice, wouldest not have any destructive power, and so couldest not have ordained those punishments for Me, to which thou hast already unjustly subjected Me, has acted much more unjustly than thou. Thou couldest not then have made trial against Me of thy rods and that judicial power, had not that power been conferred upon thee, *i.e.*, by those malicious Jews. Again, that particle ἄνωθεν, might conveniently enough have been by Pilate himself referred to a *higher* locality, to the Sanhedrin, to the house of the high priest. Especially the gesture of the speaker, and a token given by pointing with his hand, no doubt made the meaning of this phrase most easy to understand. If we put these things together, I do not see how the explanation, by which *God* is said to have given Pilate power over Jesus, is preferable to my explanation. For God did not place Jesus in the power of Pilate any more than in that of Caiaphas and the Jews, to whose accounts, nevertheless, Jesus laid nothing of the kind. But ἄνωθεν is manifestly absent from Chrysostom, and rightly.

“Διὰ τοῦτο. This coheres most closely with the preceding expression. Thou wouldest have no power over Me, which thou now threatenest Me with, unless it had been given thee by *Him*. . . . He, whom it is not necessary to name, *for this reason* has committed a much greater sin than thou, διὰ τοῦτο, because he does this purposely, and understands My case much better than thou: he has committed a far more serious sin. But if God be understood by ἄνωθεν, the language is not logical; accordingly some place an ἀποσιώπησις here, which I do not want.

“Ὁ παραδίδους μέ σοι, and indeed laden with a charge on which the Jewish high priest alone could have decided. Caiaphas is meant, and all the Jews, who eventually hired Judas, the fatal agent of their plans, and forced upon Pilate a principle of the Jewish law and a capital sentence.”

It is by no means necessary to follow Semler in all his views here, but merely to note the manner in which he brings out the relation between ἀνωθεν, ὁ παραδίδους (or rather παραδούς) and διὰ τοῦτο. He is clearly wrong in ascribing to Pilate the execution of a Jewish sentence, as the Roman governor manifestly condemned our Lord on the false charge of rebellion against Cæsar by making himself out a king (John xix. 12). “If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar’s friend: whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar.” So, too, ἀνωθεν may just as well refer to *time* as to *place*, to anteriority of time as to superiority of locality. Which latter indeed is, upon the usual hypothesis, that the Jewish trials of Jesus took place within the walls of Jerusalem, probably contrary to fact, as the temple is stated to have commanded Jerusalem, while the Antonia, in which the Roman garrison was quartered, and where Herod’s palace, afterwards the Roman prætorium, was, commanded the temple. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. v. 8, writes: φρούριον ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν τὸ ἱερόν, τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία. And from its south-western tower, which was its highest part, there was a view of the whole temple: ὡς καθορᾶν ὅλον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱερόν. But if we accept the hypothesis maintained by Dr. Petavel (*Expositor*, March, 1891), that our Lord was tried by Annas, Caiaphas, and the Sanhedrin, in various portions of the high priest’s country residence, not very far from Gethsemane, though probably on higher ground, Semler’s suggestion of a token given to Pilate by our Lord by pointing with the hand, or by some significant gesture, is at once quickened into life.

Very similar was the view of the celebrated S. T. Coleridge, which I transcribe from his *Table Talk*:—

“The meaning of the expression, εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἀνωθεν, seems to me to have been generally and grossly mis-

taken. It is commonly understood as importing that Pilate could have had no power to deliver Jesus to the Jews, unless it had been given him by God, which no doubt is true; but if that is the meaning, where is the force or connection of the following clause, *διὰ τοῦτο*, "*therefore* he that delivered Me unto thee hath the greater sin"? In what respect were the Jews more sinful in delivering Jesus up, because Pilate could do nothing except by God's leave? The explanation of Erasmus and Clarke, and some others, is very dry-footed. I conceive the meaning of our Lord to have been simply this, that Pilate would have had no power or jurisdiction—*ἐξουσία*—over Him, if it had not been given him by the Sanhedrin, the *ἄνω βουλή*, and therefore it was that the Jews had the greater sin."

This passage from Coleridge has been strangely misconceived by Bishop Westcott in his excellent commentary on the Gospel of St. John. He writes, "The notion that the clause refers to the reference of the case from a "higher tribunal" (the Sanhedrin) to the Roman Court is wholly unnatural, though it has the confident support of Coleridge." It is a *previous*, not a *higher*, tribunal that Coleridge means; it is a reference from a previous *lower* tribunal that had not the power of life and death, to a second *higher* tribunal that had such power, that Bishop Westcott has practically inverted in his note. But what makes Bishop Westcott's mistake more singular is the fact that *ἄνω* is *never* used to denote superiority in dignity or power. When the Areopagus is called *ἡ ἄνω βουλή*, it means the council that sat in the *upper* part of the city, on the *hill* of Ares (Plut., *Sol.* 19).

Let us glance for a moment at some of the very various significations of the word *ἄνωθεν* and its connections, the diversity of which goes far to justify the interpretation which, after Coleridge, I am advocating. Besides the meaning "from above," we have, in John iii. 7, the signification "over again": "Ye must be born again" (*ἄνωθεν*). In Plato's *Theatetus*, 175 B, we find *εἰς τὸ ἄνω* = "reckoning backward in point of time." *Rep.*, x. 603 D; *ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις* = "in our *previous* arguments," exactly the sense which is wanted

here. Compare also Plat., *Gorg.*, 508 E, where ἐν τοῖς ἔμμενδεν λόγοις is appended as an explanation to ἄνω. In *Thucyd.* vii. 54 we have τῆς ἄνω ἀπολήψεως τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, "the above or previously mentioned intercepting of the heavy armed." In the Epistle to the Hebrews x. 8 we find ἀνώτερον λέγων = "further back, when saying," i.e., recurring to the former and not the latter part of the quotation from Psalm xl. Luke i. 3 gives us ἄνωθεν, "from the beginning," and Acts xxvi. 5, "from youth upwards." There is plenty here to justify us in paraphrasing ἄνωθεν by ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω βουλῆς, "from the *previous* court of justice," for which Coleridge, a constant reader of Plato, contended. It is, however, not altogether impossible that Coleridge may have taken the words ἄνω βουλή in the sense of the council sitting in a higher locality. In that case the hypothesis of Dr. Petavel is requisite to make the dead bones live. And then the two possible senses of ἄνω, the *previous* council and the council *on the hill*, will be equally true and indicate the same situation. Holding the council at the high priest's country house would be a most convenient method of carrying the whole thing through ἄτερ ὄχλου, "without a crowd." Our Lord would thus be arrested, tried, and placed in the hands of the Romans without the possibility of any movement on the part of His Galilean friends; and sittings of Sanhedrin there held, out of the way of both the mob and the Romans, might well have been popularly designated sittings of the council "on the hill." There is a great deal to recommend this view.

But thus far I have added little but what I have gained from Dr. Petavel to the arguments of Semler and Coleridge, which modern commentators seem to have neglected for the sake of a mysterious and inexplicable inconsequence. I have, however, an important piece of additional evidence to bring forward, which I trust will turn the scale in favour of common sense and simplicity with every unprejudiced mind. There is a singular verbal coincidence in Luke xx. 20 with the passage under consideration which I do not think has yet been noticed. St. Luke's words are, "And they watched for an opportunity, and sent spies feigning themselves to be just

men, to take hold of His language, so as to *deliver Him over* (*παράδοῦναι*) to the official power (*τῇ ἀρχῇ*) and *authority* (or *jurisdiction*) (*τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*) of the governor." Here we have the very words used with regard to a plot of the Jews which was frustrated, that our Lord appears to have used to Pilate with regard to that plot which was rendered successful by the treachery of Judas. The plot was to *deliver Him over* (*παράδοῦναι*) to the authority or jurisdiction (*ἐξουσία*) of Pilate. Our Lord's words to Pilate were, "Thou wouldest have had no jurisdiction (*ἐξουσία*) over Me had it not been given thee [to have such jurisdiction] from a previous quarter (*ἄνωθεν*), or from the council 'on the hill': *therefore* he that *delivered* Me over to thee (*ὁ παραδούς*) hath the greater sin." If our Lord had intended to refer to the conspiracy of the Jews against Him, which is described by St. Luke as above, *He must have used the very words* which we find Him actually using to Pilate. Am I not right in considering that this extraordinary coincidence of language cannot have been fortuitous, but that our Lord must have been referring to a plot of the Jews of which Pilate was well aware, for (Mark xv. 10) "He knew that they had delivered Him to him for envy"? It certainly appears to me that the comparison of this passage from St. Luke all but amounts to a demonstration of the correctness of the explanation of Semler and Coleridge.

That *ἐξουσία* is here properly translated "jurisdiction" is clear from Luke xxiii. 7, where *ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας Ἡρώδου ἐστίν* is translated in the Authorized Version, "that he belonged to Herod's *jurisdiction*." *Παραδίδωμι* is the regular word for bringing a person officially before a magistrate, as appears from Matt. v. 25; xxvii. 2; x. 17-19, and many other passages. Our Lord was brought before Pilate from the previous, though inferior, jurisdiction of the high priest, sitting also very probably *ἄνω*, "on the hill," who was the actual *παραδούς*, and who differed from Pilate in guilt, as the actual thief differs from the *ex post facto* receiver, who has had no previous guilty knowledge of the theft, but is persuaded into unwillingly becoming an accessory after the fact.

And as to any question that may be raised with regard to

Pilate's jurisdiction, it may be replied, that every lawfully constituted judge has potential jurisdiction over every person within his district, but he has actual and practical jurisdiction only over those who are properly brought before his Court. And Pilate's actual jurisdiction over our Lord was derived from the fact that Jesus was delivered over to his ἀρχὴ and ἐξουσία by Caiaphas and his accomplices, who placed him (Pilate) in a difficult position, from which he had not courage and uprightness enough to escape unsullied.

Finally, the interpretation of ἀνωθεν in the sense "from heaven" would have had no appreciable effect upon Pilate's mind; whereas as interpreted with Semler and Coleridge with regard to the previous council of the Jews, or the previous tribunal of the high priest, or the council sitting ἄνω "on the hill," the words would have been likely to produce just the effect upon Pilate's better nature which they seem to have actually produced, as recorded in the next verse: "And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release Him." It is singular that the two possible senses of ἀνωθεν should coincide in this remarkable manner.

It must not be supposed that questions like these are trifles to be evaded by flights of rhetoric. It was a most solemn occasion on which the words were spoken, and they were evidently spoken in a most solemn manner. Are they a mere repetition of one of the tritest commonplaces of theology respecting the ultimate source of all power, and that at the cost of a serious logical inconsequence, or are they instinct with life in a dialogue between the Judge of all men in His humiliation and His unwilling human judge, who would only have been too glad to escape from the office forced upon him by those who had brought Jesus (παρέδοσαν) before him? Moreover, there is a great probability that they will aid us in endeavouring to realize the circumstances and localities of the recorded events in a more perfect manner than it has hitherto been in our power to do. Let us put away all side-issues and prejudices, and simply and honestly endeavour to ascertain the real meaning of our Lord's remarkable words.

A. H. WRATISLAW.

THE AUTHOR OF "TULLOCHGORUM."

HAD John Skinner been told that he would be known to posterity as the author of one or two songs written carelessly for the amusement of his family or the pleasure of his friends, he would probably have felt that some one had taken a false estimate of his genius. Had he not given to the world a valuable and voluminous *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, and had Bishop Sherlock not commended him for his *Dissertation on Jacob's Prophecy*? Had he not proved himself a master of controversy, a learned theologian, and an excellent classic scholar? Had he not fought, struggled, and suffered, almost to the extent of becoming a martyr, for the faith. And—what was more than all to some—had he not sent out from among his sons a Bishop to the Church of his early choice? Even so: these achievements all stand to his credit; and yet, as one of his biographers admits, they must be accounted as of the things that perish. John Skinner's controversies are forgotten; his scholarship is now of no importance; his prelections on prophecy are no longer studied, either for approbation or censure; even his personal trials are all but unknown to his countrymen; and the great *Ecclesiastical History*, it is to be feared, has found its way to the top shelves, there to keep company with the dust and the cobwebs.

For all this, the real life-work of John Skinner is worthy of study; and for several reasons. It brings before us a man of piety and scholarship who was in his own way a hero. It reminds us of a noted period of ecclesiastical history in the country, when the State refused all toleration to religion, and the Church refused all toleration to politics. It pictures for us a career of honour and usefulness in the midst of the humblest surroundings and under the difficulties of making ends meet; and it shows how all but unalloyed happiness

may be purchased by perseverance and by the contented mind which is a "continual feast." As Leigh Hunt has remarked, the real man was, in a very great degree, "the man for'a' that," before Burns arose to glorify him; nor did there perhaps exist a man to whom all descriptions of people took off their hats and caps with a more zealous respect than to the Reverend John Skinner, master of the "but" and the "ben" with no floor to it, but with wit and will in his brain and wisdom in his heart. A life like his is full of interest in all its details, and in some, it may be, also of instruction.

Since the closing years of the fourteenth century, when John Barbour produced "The Bruce," Aberdeenshire has been famed for its minor poets. George Halket, the Jacobite schoolmaster of Rathen, was valued, "dead or alive," by the Duke of Cumberland at £100 because he had written a dialogue between the Devil and George II., and the common people still value him, not for the dialogue, but for that exquisite little song, "O Logie o' Buchan, O Logie the laird." John Ogilvie, the life-long friend and correspondent of Dr. Beattie, as a poet was as prosy as he was prolific; yet his countrymen have enshrined him at the end of their Bibles, where they give him a place among the Scottish Paraphrases, over the introduction of which into the Churches their forefathers fought so valiantly. Ogilvie, by the way, visited London occasionally, and was there, in 1763, introduced to Johnson, who graciously entertained him at the Mitre Tavern, after having made it a condition with Boswell that, "Mr. Ogilvie must give us none of his poetry"! No such honours of introduction and wine-bred wit fell to the lot of William Thom, the weaver-poet who, in 1841, had to come up to the metropolis from the little burgh of Inverurie to discover that "matters are not conducted in the Houses of Parliament with that dignity which I had expected to find." Nowadays the provincials can learn as much without stirring from their own firesides. What was Thom's precise purpose in London the curtain need not be raised to show; but justice is only done to him by saying that in all the locally-published verse of his

shire there is nothing so fairly level in its excellence as the first edition of the *Rhymes and Recollections of a Handloom Weaver*. Following him in point of time came William Forsyth, who sat for many years in the editorial chair of the *Aberdeen Journal*, and who is known to many lovers of poetry by "The Martyrdom of Kelavane," a pathetic tale of some length, abounding in much felicity of expression and force of imagination. Other poets of the northern city and county have done honourable work, but their deeds may be left unrecorded here, especially as they are written in *The Bards of Bon-Accord* for all who seek to know them.

The parish of Birse, which claims John Skinner as a son, is not the loveliest spot on Deeside. The river traces its northern boundary for some miles, but the silver gleam of the Tweed is not there, and the scenery, lacking the boldness necessary to give it the title of romantic, is only bleak and wild. The old historian of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* notes the suitability of the parish for the illicit distilling of whisky. The historian was probably right, for the Excise officer has succeeded in almost depopulating the place, even as the timber merchant has succeeded in thinning its once great "Forest" of fir and larch. Skinner's father was the parish schoolmaster, and the poet was born in 1721. The "dominie"—for such was the Scotch designation of the old schoolmaster—seems to have been a man of no mean attainments. It is recorded of him that, after removing to the village of Echt, twelve miles from Aberdeen, where he taught for upwards of fifty years, he sent up more young men to the Universities than most schoolmasters of his day. He appears to have done remarkably well by his own son. The lad was but thirteen when his knowledge of Latin secured him an entrance to Marischal College, Aberdeen, and he was able to leave the University four years later, very little above the age at which students generally enter now. At the time of which we write, the "dominie" was often a preacher as well as a teacher, and young Skinner resolved to make the school a stepping-stone to the Kirk, as others had done before him. After teaching at Kemnay for some time, he obtained

an appointment at Monymusk, and there began to write verse. A "Poem on a Visit to Paradise"—not, it is necessary to point out, the scene of the first temptation, but a pretty little retreat so-called on the banks of the Don—secured him a patron in the wife of Sir Archibald Grant, and also the privilege of access to the extensive library at Monymusk. At the same time that he found the patron young Skinner became a pervert by leaving the Presbyterian Church for the Episcopal. The step was a serious one in those days. The Scottish Episcopal Church, whatever it may be now, was not then for prospective clerics whose thoughts were primarily of the loaves and the fishes. It held in its folds only a small, despised, and persecuted people, and those who threw up the prospects of Presbyterianism for its scanty favours had certainly more of sincerity than of prudence. The change entirely altered Skinner's position. The parish school, leading on to a place of ornament in the Presbyterian Establishment, was no longer to be thought of, but instead a tutorship in some family, to be followed in due course by the charge of an Episcopal congregation, furnishing, it might be, congenial labour, but almost certainly only a bare subsistence.

The tutorship was secured in far-off Shetland, whither Skinner went in 1740. The one engagement led to another of a very different kind, for while Skinner, as his latest biographer has said, crossed the Pentland Firth, as Jacob crossed the Jordan, alone and unincumbered, he returned, like Jacob, "in two bands." The lady was a daughter of the Rev. John Hunter, then the only Episcopal clergyman in the Shetland Isles. From all accounts it was a love marriage; and it was certainly a poet's marriage, inasmuch as the bridegroom, barely out of his teens, had as yet neither profession, home, nor "worldly goods" wherewith to endow his bride. Nowadays we write manuals on "How to live on £200 a year," but John Skinner entered the married state with nothing, and afterwards contrived to get through fifty-eight years of wedded happiness upon something like £40 per annum! As he wrote in after-life—

“ We began in the world wi’ naething, O,
And we’ve jogged on and toiled for the ae thing, O,
We’ve made use of what we had,
And our thankfu’ hearts were glad,
When we got the bit meat and the claething, O.”

It was an imprudent and improvident marriage, judged by our modern rules of economics, but mark its results in the case of the leading figure. Finishing his theological training, Skinner sat down to wait for a congregation. By-and-bye the important charge of Longside, near Peterhead, became vacant, and the Bishop began to cast his eyes about. Young Skinner was mentioned to him as a man of abundant talents and learning for any charge, but the Bishop’s adviser doubted the wisdom of appointing one who had shown himself so deficient in prudence as to have taken a wife without having an income to support her. “He is the very man for the place,” said the Bishop; “he has had a taste of poverty, he has learnt to endure hardship, and with his abilities and experience he will be able to adapt himself to his circumstances, whatever they may be.” It was an augury that was abundantly fulfilled.

Skinner began his ministry at Longside in 1742, just on the eve of the ill-starred insurrection which was to prove the death-blow of the Stuart cause. He was but twenty-one, and as he passed through the crowd of assembled worshippers to conduct his first service, he overheard one member of the flock remark, “It’s surely not that beardless boy that’s going to minister to us!” The preacher’s sermon must have been extempore on that occasion, for we read that he chose for his text the words, “Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown!” That he did not at first uniformly preach without notes is evident from an anecdote told by one of his biographers. The occasion was one of those when, his chapel having been burned down, he was obliged to discourse to his people from a temporary desk “placed in the entry” of his little thatch-roofed parsonage. He had just begun his sermon when a hen which had got into one of the apartments made an excited exit through the passage, scattering in every

direction the loose leaves of his discourse. "Never mind them," said Skinner, as the people went in search of the sheets; "a fowl shall not shut my mouth again." This little incident sets the whole miserable period of ecclesiastical persecution almost as clearly before us as if we had lived through it ourselves.

All but the very beginning and the close of Skinner's long ministry was passed under the ban of the civil law of his country. The rebellion of 1745 brought trouble to many of the Episcopal clergy, who were indeed almost to a man Jacobites. The heather of Culloden Moor was scarcely dry from the blood of the gallant heroes of the Stuart cause when the Duke of Cumberland was wreaking his vengeance upon the disestablished and disendowed Church, burning her chapels and despoiling her preachers' property wherever he came in his march southward. Skinner did not escape, notwithstanding that he had always been, as he remained to the end of his life, well affected to the Government. Writing himself of his brother clergymen at this crisis, he describes them as "skulking where best they could, that they might not fall into the soldiers' hands"; and this was, in fact, the course he took in his own case. At one time he escaped only by disguising himself as a miller, and there are accounts of various other stratagems which he adopted in order to preserve his freedom and his goods. To escape altogether the attentions of the devastating crew was, however, impossible, and one evening he returned from a pastoral visit to find the humble parsonage in possession of a military party; "some of them," says his son the Bishop, "guarding the door with fixed bayonets, and others searching the several apartments, even the bed-chamber where Mrs. Skinner was lying-in of her fifth child, and little able to bear such a rude unseasonable visit." The sacking party, we read further, "pillaged the house of everything they could carry with them, hardly leaving a change of linen to father, mother, or child in the family." Nor was this all. The plundering, it appears, was done during the night, and next day the chapel was in flames. A certain lady of rank is traditionally credited with the initia-

tive in bringing the troops to Longside, and she is said to have manifested her zeal by riding in triumph round the blazing pile, enjoining the infuriated mob to "Hold in the prayer-books!" It has already been remarked that Skinner was no Jacobite. Church principles, so far as he could see, had no connection whatever with the cause of the Stuarts, and his allegiance to the reigning monarch had never been questioned. Under these circumstances it is difficult to account for the treatment he received at this time, unless on the supposition that the burning of an Episcopal meeting-house, no matter what were the political views of its incumbent, was a work deserving of the highest commendation. Knox, full of indignation, had already destroyed many a noble architectural pile in the belief that if the nests were pulled down the rooks must disperse, and the example thus set had not been forgotten. The history of Presbyterianism in Scotland is stained by many an ignoble deed; and—if not in effect, at least in cause—there is not much to choose from between the butchering of Bishops and the burning of prayer-books. Though Skinner himself belonged to a sect, he was much less of a bigot than many of his churchmen who live to-day. With the parish minister he was always more than friendly, and when he came to be consulted as to where he would prefer to be buried, he requested that he might be laid by his side, adding, "He and I got on very well together during life." On one occasion the two had met, when the representative of Presbytery extended a gloved hand with the apology, "Excuse my glove, Mr. Skinner." "Never mind, never mind," was the reply, accompanied by a merry twinkle of the eye; "it's, maybe, the honestest leather of the two."

The work of demolition by the military was just approaching its close when Parliament stepped in and passed an Act which all but exterminated Episcopacy in the northern kingdom. This Act provided that after the 1st of September, 1746, "every person exercising the function of a pastor or minister in any Episcopal meeting-house in Scotland without registering his letters of orders, and taking all the oaths

required by law, and praying for His Majesty King George and the royal family by name, should, for the first offence, suffer six months' imprisonment, and for the second be transported to some of his Majesty's plantations for life." Every house in which five or more persons besides its usual occupants gathered together for worship was declared to be a meeting-house, and, for the future, no letters of orders were to be registered but such as had been given by some Bishop of the Church of England or Ireland. These enactments applied, of course, to the clergy, but the laity came under penalties almost equally severe. If any one attended an illegal Episcopal meeting, and did not give information within five days, he was to be fined or imprisoned. If any peer were convicted of this crime for the second time, he could neither be chosen a representative peer, nor vote in the election of another; and if any commoner were so convicted, he could not sit in Parliament for burgh or shire. Stringent though these measures were, they met with no opposition even from the English Bishops, the feeling evidently being that without some enactment of the kind the safety of the State would be endangered.

Skinner at once complied with the new Act, thinking, no doubt, that when he had done so his troubles would be at an end. This, however, was very far from being the case. The Church believed in the doctrine of Divine right, according to which the exiled James was the true and legitimate Sovereign of Great Britain; and it held, therefore, that neither Parliament nor people could authorize any clergyman to accept George, far less to pray for him as the "rightful, lawful king." Official Episcopacy, in short, regarded compliance with the Act as a sin, to be atoned for by repentance and absolution. Here truly was a trying position. Punished by the State as Jacobites, and censured by the Church as Hanoverians, how were the Episcopal clergy to act? Skinner decided in favour of the Church, repented, and was absolved by his Bishop. Many of his brethren followed his example. But the State was not to be defeated, and, in 1748, came the celebrated Act which, in a religious sense, practically outlawed every Epis-

copalian in the country. "The Act decreed, in regard to every clergyman ordained by a native Bishop, that his orders were not admissible for registration—that any past registration of them was null and void to all intents and purposes. It prohibited him from performing public worship, or even acting as chaplain in a private family; and it left to him only the right of any other householder, to hold a sort of family worship *in his own house*, limiting the number of his fellow-worshippers to four persons besides his family." Bishops Sherlock and Secker strenuously opposed this measure; the whole of the Episcopal bench, to their honour be it said, refused it support. No doubt a large number of the Scotch Episcopalians had laid themselves open to the charge of treason, but no punishment for any crime should compel a man to give up his religion or be false to his Church. A convicted traitor should be dealt with as a traitor, but even on the scaffold he has a right to worship as he pleases. It is conceivable, indeed, that a certain form of religion might be a cause of crime; but this could not be said of Episcopacy. It was not the Episcopacy of the men of Skinner's day that made them Jacobites; it was rather their Jacobitism that kept them Episcopalians.

The effect of the Act on the Longside congregation was to suspend entirely the ordinances of religion in the usual form; but Mr. Skinner boldly officiated from the first in his own house, which, by the way, still stands much as he left it. Four-and-a-half years of this method of ministering to the people went by, and at the end of that period, in May, 1753, Skinner was cast into prison. He had at once admitted the breach of the law, and the penalty followed as a matter of course. During his imprisonment his people provided abundantly for his necessities as well as for those of his family, and he himself turned the enforced retirement to good account by perfecting his knowledge of Hebrew. We are not told how he comported himself in his charge after he emerged from Aberdeen gaol, but, doubtless, he acted with more caution, and kept within the letter of the law. Seven years passed away, and, in 1760, George III. came to the throne. Then

the Episcopalians began to breathe more freely. The enactments against them, indeed, remained, but they were administered in a milder spirit. Active persecution seems to have ceased altogether, and Mr. Skinner now entered upon forty years of a comparatively undisturbed and prosperous ministry. Having conducted him thus far, we may step aside to look at him in the character of poet—the character in which he is best known.

It is by his songs that Skinner will live. These, though limited as to number, place him almost on the level of Burns himself, who, indeed, described "Tullochgorum" as "the first of Scottish songs" and "the best Scotch song Scotland ever saw." Could he have chosen the tender passion for his theme as Burns has done he would undoubtedly have excelled, but love-songs were not then to be thought of from the pen of a Scotch parson.

"Ye ken it's nae for ane like me
To be sae droll as ye can be"—

So Skinner himself wrote to the author of "The Cottar's Saturday Night," and he would seem to have practised what he preached. "Lizzie Liberty," one of his best-known productions, looks at first sight like a love-lyric, but the love and the courtship are after all nothing more than politics in disguise. By far the finest and most finished, as they are the most celebrated, specimens of Skinner's muse are "Tullochgorum" and "The Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn." Both were written by special request, which may account in some measure for their superiority to the general run of their author's verse. The friend who suggested "Tullochgorum" was a certain Mrs. Montgomery, the wife of an excise officer, who lived in the little Aberdeenshire village of Ellon. Mr. Skinner and some of his clerical brethren had gone to spend a day with this lady. After a good dinner, the "feast of reason and the flow of soul" began to drift towards politics, and soon the "black coats" were in danger of using language only permitted at Westminster. At this juncture the hostess, with feminine tact, changed the subject by remarking on the want

of suitable words for certain excellent national airs, and asking Mr. Skinner if he would write a song to the tune of "Tullochgorum." Skinner agreed, and the result was, as Burns put it, "to gratify the lady's wishes and the wishes of every lover of Scottish song." "Let Whig and Tory all agree," said Mrs. Montgomery to her guests, and the poet keeps this key-note ringing through the entire song. The words have almost a magical effect—at any rate to Scotch ears, accustomed to reels and strathspeys and vigorous vowels and gutturals. Here are lines which almost dance of themselves—

"What needs there be sae great a fraise,
Wi' dringing dull Italian lays,
I wadna gie our ain strathspeys
For half a hunder score o' them.
They're dowf and dowie at the best,
Dowf and dowie, dowf and dowie,
Dowf and dowie at the best,
Wi' a' their variorum.
They're dowf and dowie at the best,
Their *allegros* and a' the rest,
They canna please a Highland taste,
Compared wi' Tullochgorum."

Burns always spoke of "Tullochgorum" with great enthusiasm, and if one cannot altogether agree with him in describing it as "the first of songs," one may at least claim for it a national as well as a patriotic character. It at once established Skinner's reputation as a song-writer, and carried his name to quarters where the heroes of Episcopal persecution had been altogether unheard of.

The "Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn," though not of the most popular style of song, is, in our opinion, a finer production than "Tullochgorum." Some genius of the Donelly type once started a theory that the "Ewie" was a metaphor for a whisky "still," but there is no doubt that the unfortunate heroine was a veritable flesh-and-blood sheep. The song was suggested, and in fact begun, by Dr. Beattie, the author of "The Minstrel," who was one of Skinner's most intimate literary friends. The Doctor, it appears, had been asked to

write a pastoral song, but he succeeded in turning out only the following lines—

“ The Ewie wi’ the crookit horn,
Sic a ewe was never born,
Here aboot nor far awa’.”

These lines Beattie sent to Skinner as “the best-qualified person in Scotland,” with a request that he would complete the song. The result was the masterpiece which has taken rank among its author’s productions next to “Tullochgorum.” There is both pathos and humour in the ballad, and some of the stanzas exhibit a felicity of expression remarkable in one who, while writing so much, wrote so little that is now remembered.

“ Yet last week, for a’ my keeping
(Wha can speak it without greeting ?),
A villain cam’ when I was sleeping,
Sta’ my Ewie, horn and a’ ;
I sought her sair upo’ the morn,
And down aneath a buss o’ thorn
I got my Ewie’s crookit horn,
But my Ewie was awa’.

“ O ! gin I had the loon that did it,
Sworn I have as well as said it,
Tho’ a’ the warld should forbid it,
I wad gie his neck a thra’ :
I never met wi’ sic a turn
As this sin’ ever I was born,
My Ewie wi’ the crookit horn,
Silly Ewie stown awa’.

“ O ! had she died o’ crook or cauld,
As Ewies do when they grow auld,
It wad na been, by mony fauld,
Sae sair a heart to nane o’s a’ ;
For a’ the claith that we hae worn,
Frac her and her’s sae often shorn
The loss o’ her we could hae borne,
Had fair strae-death ta’en her awa’.”

The similarity between the “Ewie” and Burns’s “Elegy” to Poor Mailie suggests the remark that Skinner’s song may

have led to the Elegy. There is no direct evidence that this was the case, unless, as has been pointed out, a complimentary phrase addressed by Burns to Skinner's son be taken as an admission, but it is at least probable, considering the high opinion the greater poet has expressed concerning the song.

A study of Skinner's poetry as a whole reveals marks of haste and want of finish. The first editor of his works indeed tells us that his effusions "were committed to writing just in the form which his fancy gave them, and when once dismissed from his thoughts, were never called back to receive any sort of correction or improvement." In this respect Skinner might have learned a valuable lesson from his correspondent Burns, who acknowledged that the work of the file in giving his poems the finishing polish was often the greatest labour that attended their production. Unfortunately for his fame, he had the "pen of a too ready writer," and was apt to disregard those trifles which are no trifles. Nevertheless, certain of his poems exhibit much artistic finish and sweet flow of versification ; and had their subjects been more popular, many besides the two songs already mentioned would undoubtedly have lived. He wrote in Latin almost as easily as in Scotch or English, though here he was not too particular to avoid offences against prosody. Some of these productions in the ancient language, such, for example, as the poem of eighteen lines, every word of which begins with "m," are mere intellectual feats, without sense or inspiration ; but others are characterized by considerable poetic force as well as poetic feeling. The longest and undoubtedly the best is the version of "Chryste Kirk on the Green." It is not a subject which a keen-sighted critic would recommend for treatment in Latin verse, the humour of the original being such as must elude the grasp of even the best translator. To deck out in classical garb the succession of highly ludicrous objects which one meets with in the old pastoral is a hopeless task. Notwithstanding this, Skinner's production deserves to be classed among the best specimens of its kind which have appeared in Scotland since the time of Buchanan ;

and if Latin poetry were read nowadays it would, doubtless, command attention. It has been noted as a curious fact that Skinner has written nothing on natural scenery. The fact is, however, easily accounted for when we remember that the district around Longside was in Skinner's day one of the most barren and desolate in Scotland. We know that Skinner could really appreciate the beauties of nature as well as most poets, but a plain of almost two miles square, unbroken by house or tree, stone or shrub, was not exactly calculated to inspire the muse. Skinner wrote of what he knew best, and his reward has been accordingly.

Skinner's most ambitious work in prose was his *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, published in two volumes in 1788. It deals with its subject in a series of sixty letters, and is, on the whole, a creditable performance. The account of the persecution period through which the author himself passed is particularly full ; and if the book has now any value at all, it lies here. An *Exposition of the Song of Solomon* was the work upon which Skinner prided himself most. No doubt, it was a masterpiece of erudition, but it is enough for us to know that the *Exposition* of the eight short chapters extended to upwards of four hundred pages ! More than likely it has long since found its place among the treasures of darkness. Skinner's works, both in prose and verse, were published in 1809 in three volumes, with a memoir by his son the Bishop, which embraces many valuable letters, and gives altogether a very interesting account of his career. Since that time, selections from his poetical works only have been reprinted—first in 1859, under the editorship of Mr. H. Gilzean Reid, and again in 1883, under the care of Dr. Walker, of Monymusk, who gives the most complete and trustworthy memoir of Skinner that has appeared. Dr. Walker very wisely safeguards the reputation of his subject by publishing only a choice selection of his verse.

More remote from cities than Drummond of Hawthornden, Skinner, like his early brother poet, had his correspondents in the great world of literature. In the year 1787, Burns, during his tour in the North, wrote to his brother Gilbert,

that he "returned from Inverness through Nairn, Forres, and so on to Aberdeen." The journey took the poet within four miles of Skinner's house, but he had reached Aberdeen before he knew it, and the two men thus only just missed seeing each other. Skinner's son was by this time Bishop of Aberdeen, and it was by a chance meeting with him in the city of granite that Burns and the author of "*Tullochgorum*" began to correspond. On learning he had got hold of one so nearly related to the writer of the famous song, nothing less than "a dram o'er such a meeting" would satisfy Burns, and the Bishop's account of the interview is certainly lively and interesting. Writing to his father, he says, "Our time was short, . . . but we had fifty auld sangs through hand, and spent an hour or so most agreeably. . . . 'Well,' said he, at parting, 'I am happy in having seen you, and thereby conveying my long-laboured sentiments of regard for your worthy sire. Assure him of it in the heartiest manner, and that never did a devotee of the Virgin Mary go to Loretto with more favour than I would have approached his dwelling and worshipped at his shrine.'" The picture drawn of Burns is well worth quoting. "His personal appearance," says the worthy Bishop, "is very much in his favour. He is a genteel-looking young man of good address, and talks with much propriety, as if he had received an academic education. He has, indeed, a flow of language, and seems never at a loss to express himself in the strongest and most nervous manner." Burns was at this time collecting all the old Scotch songs he could lay hands on for Johnson's *Musical Museum*, a miscellany of which he was practically editor; and Skinner, through his son, was invited to send contributions. The contributions reached Burns in due course, and in due course were published in the *Museum*. Meanwhile, the Bishop's letter, regarding the interview at Aberdeen, had drawn from Skinner a rhymed epistle, which Burns terms "by far the finest compliment I ever got"; and the correspondence, so well known to all readers of Burns, though it did not last long, goes merrily on on both sides.

Some time after this Skinner was invited by Mr. Gleig,

the editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to contribute to that now historical work. One would have expected that this offer would be readily accepted, if only because it seemed to open up the prospect of adding to the household exchequer at Longside. Skinner, however, declined to furnish complete articles for the *Encyclopædia*, but offered to send to Mr. Gleig any information he might have on such subjects as were suggested to him. Many letters followed on both sides; and it is doing his other biographers no injustice to say that no one has more correctly estimated Skinner's character and varied gifts than Mr. Gleig. Another of "Tullochgorum's" correspondents was Mr. Ramsay, of Ochtertyre, the prototype of Scott's *Antiquary*. Ramsay had a habit of picturing his friends in Latin verse, and Skinner did not escape. In sending the effusion to Longside in 1793, Ramsay wrote, "I wish your features and fortune were more perfectly delineated. You may perhaps think it too long; but I once thought it impossible to do you under thirty or forty lines." The pair met later on—if, indeed, they had not met already—and enjoyed a week of uninterrupted intercourse, which Skinner afterwards spoke of as "that Platonic and Epicurean week."

Skinner's closing years were full of the happiness and contentment which had characterized him throughout his long career. For some time he had given up the cultivation of his mind for the cultivation of the soil. His family had increased to the goodly number of nine—three sons and six daughters—and the supplementing of the slender salary had to be considered. He took a farm, did even worse than Burns had done with his acres, and finally, after a weary struggle of seven years, gave it up in disgust. Old age crept on, and in 1799 she who had dared life with him in the now far-away past was taken to her last home, not before she had the pride of seeing one son a Bishop and a grandson who was to become the Dean of Dunkeld. It was arranged that the old man should pass his last days with the Bishop in Aberdeen, but he had barely settled down in the new home, after bidding farewell to the scene of his sixty-five years' labours, when he was called away. He died in June, 1807, gratified in almost his last

wish of seeing his children's grandchildren. "We look across the silent years at that life of sweetness, courage, and moral purity, in which peace on earth, goodwill to man, recurs again and again, like a dominant chord, and thank God for a humanity capable of producing a John Skinner."

In social and domestic life Skinner was both genial and witty. No pharisaical long-faced Christian was he, but a man who could laugh and be merry with the most jovial of his fellows. Pleasant intercourse with his neighbours, healthy recreation, the scattering of gloomy thoughts, were things he taught in his songs, and things he preached in his own life. In his little rush-roofed cottage he had perhaps more honest pleasure than falls to the lot of the majority of men. The almost Apostolic simplicity of his life is one of the most beautiful things in biography. When Robert Chambers visited his "parsonage" in 1826, he wrote that "the floor was of earth—the chairs, tables and beds were composed of plain fir or oak—the chimneys were unprovided with grates." Under such humble conditions did John Skinner find health, happiness, and contentment. His library—packed into a closet of about five feet square—a tenacious memory, and a few well-kept commonplace books constituted his sole intellectual armoury; and it would probably be within the mark to say that few men have published so much, leaving aside the question of merit, with so few literary tools in their possession. The midnight oil was often burning, and the lamp in the window long served as a landmark to his neighbours passing to and from Longside—a fact which led him to remark that though his light might be of little use within, it was of undoubted use without. On the whole, one may safely say with Leigh Hunt that, had all Scottish pastors resembled John Skinner, the nation would not have been "put in a place on the list of statistics where neither its poetry, nor its bravery, nor its scholarship, nor its philosophy, nor anything great and good belonging to it ought to have been found." His life was an honour to himself, and his fame is an honour to his country.

J. CUTHBERT HADDEN.

KNOWING CHRIST AFTER THE FLESH.

2 COR. v. 16.

Textus receptus.—"Ὡστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἶδομεν κατὰ σάρκα· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστὸν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκ ἔτι γινώσκομεν."

Authorised Version.—Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we *Him* no more.

Revised Version.—Wherefore we henceforth know no man after the flesh; even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know *Him* so no more.

THERE is no important variation in the readings of this verse, so that the words may be considered to be the very words which the Apostle himself wrote. The only variation is immaterial; instead of εἰ δὲ καὶ of the *textus receptus* several important manuscripts read εἰ καὶ, the reading which is now adopted by our best writers. It is also obvious from a comparison of the Authorised and Revised Versions that there is no perceptible difference in the translation.

Nor is there much difficulty in the exegesis of the passage. "Ὡστε, *wherefore*, connects the words with what precedes; because we have died with Christ in His death and are raised with Him in His resurrection life, and have thus come into a new spiritual relation. ἡμεῖς, *we*, emphatic. Paul does not here speak primarily of himself, or of Christians generally, but of those who had adopted his views in opposition to the Judaizing teachers who placed great stress on outward distinctions. ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, *henceforth*—from this present time—that is, since we became Christians, and passed into a new relationship with Christ. οὐδένα οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα, *know no man after the flesh*: we do not now regard men according to their earthly distinctions, and this in contrast to the false teachers who prided themselves on their Jewish descent, with being the children of Abraham according to the flesh; all these earthly distinctions are done away with; with us there is neither Jew nor Gentile. As Meyer well puts it: "He who knows no man after the flesh has entirely lost sight in the

case of the Jew, for example, of his Jewish origin, in the case of a rich man of his riches, in that of a learned man of his learning, in that of a slave of his slavery." *εἰ καὶ, if also:* a concession, even though, taking it for granted that this may be the case; not a positive affirmation, but approaching to it. *ἐγνώκαμεν, we have known.* It is to be noticed that the verbs in these two clauses are different (*οἶδα scio and ἐγνώκα cognovi*); but the difference in their meaning is immaterial, they may be considered as equivalent terms. *κατὰ σάρκα, after the flesh:* here in evident contrast to *κατὰ πνεῦμα*; whereas the false teachers knew Christ after the flesh, we now know Him after the spirit. *Χριστὸν, Christ;* not here to be taken as an appellative, the Christ, the Messiah, which would require the article *τὸν Χριστὸν*; but a proper name, by which Jesus was known. *ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκ ἔτι γινώσκομεν, yet now henceforth we know Him so no more;* that is, we know Him no longer after the flesh as we once knew Him.

The difficulty lies in the interpretation of the words *ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστὸν, we have known Christ after the flesh.* The words may be taken literally to denote an actual acquaintance with Christ when on earth; or they may be taken figuratively to denote a knowledge of Christ in a carnal or external manner: both senses are admissible.

I. Let us consider the literal interpretation of the words. The question which here meets us is, Had the Apostle an actual acquaintance with Christ? Did Paul see Christ in the flesh? Was he a witness of those miracles which our Lord performed, and a hearer of those discourses with which He taught the people? Was he a frequenter of the temple during those Paschal feasts which our Lord attended? Was he a sojourner in Jerusalem at the last Passover, and a spectator of the sufferings of Christ? Our text admits of such an interpretation, and accordingly it has been adopted by several theologians. Thus Olshausen observes: "It would appear probable from this passage (2 Cor. v. 16) that St. Paul had seen our Lord before His resurrection, on the occasion of his presence at the Passover in Jerusalem; though certainly no nearer connexion subsisted between him and the Saviour."

So also Beyschlag thus interprets our passage, that Paul had actually seen Christ, though he did not come into any direct relation to Him. And Ewald considers this opinion not improbable.

Nor is this opinion unsupported by reasons. The text not only admits of such a meaning, but even suggests it. The assertion that Paul knew Christ after the flesh, taken by itself, independently of the context or of other statements concerning the life of Paul, would naturally lead one to suppose a personal acquaintance with Christ when He was in the flesh, during His sojourn on earth. Besides, we learn from Paul himself that, although a native of Tarsus, he received his education in Jerusalem. Thus, in his defence to the Jews, he says : " I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God, even as ye all are this day." And in his apology before Agrippa he says : " My manner of life, then, from my youth up, which was from the beginning among mine own nation and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews ; having knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify, how that after the strictest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee." A few years after the ascension of our Lord we find Paul at Jerusalem, being present at the martyrdom of Stephen : " The witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul. Saul was consenting unto his death." Paul also had a sister's son resident in Jerusalem, which suggests the idea that the whole family had removed from Tarsus to that city. And further, Paul, we know, was not only a Jew by birth, but belonged to the Pharisees, the strictest sect of the Jewish religion ; and it was regarded by the Pharisees as a sacred duty to attend the annual festivals at Jerusalem. Jews from all lands flocked to Jerusalem to the Passover, the most sacred of all their feasts. Hence, the presumption is that Paul was in Jerusalem during at least one of those three Passovers which our Lord attended.

But whilst there are these presumptions, there are other more conclusive reasons against the supposition that Paul had

a personal acquaintance with Christ or ever saw Him in the flesh. There is no allusion in his Epistles to any personal contact with Christ when in this world. His opponents brought it forward as an objection to his apostleship, that he had not, like the twelve, seen Christ, or been instructed by Him. This objection to his apostolic claims the Apostle indeed repudiates, and asserts that he had seen Christ as well as the other Apostles: "Am I not an Apostle? Have I not seen Jesus, our Lord?" But it is evident that the allusion here is to the appearance of Christ to him on the way to Damascus. Had Paul actually seen Christ in the flesh, had he, like Peter and John, conversed with Him, he must have alluded to it in his Epistles; he could not possibly have passed over in silence his personal contact with the Redeemer. And further, we cannot suppose that Paul, a man of such strong convictions and conscientious motives, who had only to know the truth in order to follow it, a man whose sincerity and earnestness were beyond question, could possibly have resisted Christ. Had he actually seen the miracles which our Lord performed; above all, had he been a spectator of His last sufferings, he must have been convinced that this was the Christ, the Messiah promised to the fathers. Or, if he had resisted Christ in His person, if, in spite of what he saw and heard, he had persisted in unbelief, he would have emphasized this resistance as increasing in a tenfold degree his wickedness before conversion; he would certainly have added this extreme perverseness to his other crimes; that he was not only a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious, but that he had actually seen Christ, had come in contact with Him, and remained impenitent.

Nor does the supposition that Paul had seen Christ in the flesh suit the meaning of the context. He asserts that, though he had known Christ after the flesh, yet he knew Him so no more. But had Paul actually seen Christ, this sight would have made an indelible impression on him. He would never have forgotten that he had seen Him whom many prophets and righteous men of old had vainly desired to see, who was the visible image of the invisible God. So far from seeking

to efface this knowledge from his mind, it would have been ever present with him, as it was with the other Apostles who were privileged to enjoy the personal friendship of Christ. The text admits of another and more suitable explanation : that Paul is not here speaking literally of having seen Christ in the flesh ; but metaphorically, of knowing Christ in a carnal manner, as the unbelieving Jews, or as the Judaizing teachers, his opponents, knew Him. He knew Christ no longer after a carnal, but after a spiritual manner.

We conclude, therefore, that Paul never saw Jesus when He was in this world ; that he could not have been in Jerusalem when our Lord was there. Although educated in Jerusalem, at the feet of Gamaliel, yet after his education was finished he probably returned to his native city, Tarsus, and there worked at his trade as a tent-maker. Though a strict Pharisee, he had been prevented by reasons of which we are ignorant from coming up to Jerusalem to attend any of those passovers at which our Lord was present. A year or two, indeed, after the death of Christ he was resident in Jerusalem, and appears to have been so far settled there that he possessed the confidence of the Sanhedrim, and, with their approbation and authority, took an active part in the persecution of the Christians.

II. As, then, our text does not admit of a literal interpretation, it can only be understood figuratively. Paul concedes that he knew Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*, after the flesh ; that is, in a carnal manner. Before his conversion he knew Christ as Jesus of Nazareth, a man who had been put to death by the Romans ; but he did not know Him in His Divine nature, as God manifest in the flesh. Nay, he did not even regard Him in His Messianic character, as the Messiah of the Jews ; he considered Him as an impostor, the founder of the heretical sect of the Nazarenes, whom he felt it to be his duty to persecute, and, if possible, to extirpate. Some theologians, indeed, refer these words not to Paul's knowledge of Christ before his conversion, but to his limited knowledge of Christ after conversion. According to them, Paul's views of Christ were at first imperfect : he knew Him after the flesh ; he re-

garded Him as the Judaizing Christians regarded Him, and, like them, held that men could only become Christians by submitting to the rites and ceremonies of Judaism. But subsequently his views became more enlightened; his opinions underwent a change; from knowing Christ after the flesh, he came to know Him after the spirit; he shook off the bonds of Jewish ordinances, and attained to the full liberty of the Gospel. But there is no trace of any such development in Paul's views. Immediately after his conversion he preached Jesus in the synagogues of Damascus that He is the Son of God. Doubtless, his views of Christ expanded, and during those three years which he spent in the desert of Arabia, he received a succession of revelations from God; but at no period after his conversion did he occupy the legal position of the Judaizing teachers, and inculcate justification by the works of the law. The comparison is not between different stages of Paul's religious experience subsequent to his conversion, but between his views of Christ before and after his conversion; then he knew Christ after the flesh, but now he knew Him after the spirit. He became a new creature in Christ Jesus, old things having passed away and all things having become new.

But, as we remarked when considering the exegesis of the passage, we have here a general declaration. The words "we have known Christ after the flesh" do not refer exclusively to Paul, as if he used the first person plural for the first person singular. The pronoun *we* is emphatic, and is in contrast with the heretical teachers: "Wherefore we know no man after the flesh." The Messianic views of the Jews were carnal. They looked forward to a Messiah who should come with earthly power and glory, free their nation from the Roman yoke of bondage, and, as a mighty conqueror, erect His throne in Jerusalem. It does not appear, from the Jewish literature in the time of Christ, that the Jews had any realization of the Divine nature of the Messiah. There are some traces of this, especially in the Fourth Book of Esdras and in the Book of Enoch, but these are few and faint. The Messiah was regarded by them as a prophet greater than

Moses, and as a king greater than David, but still human. So also the Judaizing teachers, those opponents of Paul, knew Christ only according to the flesh. They were, indeed, Christians; they acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, and hence their views were far in advance of those of their unbelieving countrymen. But they did not know Christ after the spirit; they still placed their trust on their carnal descent from Abraham; they made their boast of the law; they combined the works of the law with faith in Christ; and regarded the Christian Jews as placed on a higher platform than the Christian Gentiles; they had yet to learn to know no man after the flesh.

Some suppose, with considerable probability, that there is in our passage an allusion to the Christ-party at Corinth. The Church of Corinth was divided into factions; four of these are mentioned: "Every one of you saith I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." Here there was evidently a distinction of persons, recognizing men after the flesh. There is a great diversity of opinion as to who are meant by the Christ-party in Corinth. We do not enter upon this question, but would only remark that the most plausible opinion is that it consisted of those who placed importance on the fact of having seen Christ in the flesh. They who had seen and had conversed with Christ when on earth, who had been instructed by Him, were regarded as Christians of a superior caste; and hence Paul was depreciated as inferior to the other Apostles, because he had not seen Christ, and was not one of His immediate disciples. Those Apostles were esteemed still more highly who were personally related to Christ, as those three Apostles who were considered as the pillars of the Church—James, the Lord's brother, connected to Christ by natural relationship; John, the beloved disciple, the peculiar favourite of his Master; and Peter, the spokesman of the Apostles, who had been signalized by our Lord as the rock on which He was to build His Church. But although certainly there must have been a great advantage arising from personal intercourse with our Lord, yet the knowledge of Christ after the flesh was not

of primary importance. Many knew Christ who were not benefited by this knowledge. Judas enjoyed His intimate friendship, and Pilate came into direct contact with Him on the most solemn of all occasions. We have our Lord's own words on the value to be placed on personal relationship to Him, on this knowledge after the flesh: "Who is My mother? and who are My brethren? And He stretched forth His hands towards His disciples and said, Behold My mother and My brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of My Father which is in heaven, the same is My brother, and sister, and mother."

There was a certain disadvantage arising from knowing Christ after the flesh, from seeing Him under His earthly limitations. Our Saviour Himself taught His disciples that His bodily absence would be actually for their advantage—that departure from them in the flesh was necessary to His coming to them in the spirit. "Nevertheless, I tell you the truth: It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I go, I will send Him unto you." Seeing Christ as a man, conversing with Him, coming in daily contact with Him, would have the effect of causing the disciples to overlook His Divine origin; by being familiarized with His humanity, their conceptions of His divinity would become vague and indefinite. As Foster well remarks: "Sublime greatness would, must, by an inevitable law of human feeling, be reduced, shaded, diminished, as to its impression on the mind, by being shrouded and presented in a mere human form. Even when the intellect recognized a superhuman glory dwelling there ('the fulness of the Godhead bodily'), there is yet such an obstinate control of the senses over the mind's apprehension, that the sight of a mere common human form would absolutely, in a degree, contract, depress, and prostrate that apprehension. Has it not struck your thoughts that, to observe the shape, features, limbs, and ordinary action of that form, must have made an impression which would be a counteraction to the impression of majesty?" Indeed, it is very difficult to conceive how the disciples, whilst our Lord

was living among them, could have fully realized His Divine nature. Had they fully known, as they afterwards knew, that their Master with whom they conversed was in reality God manifest in the flesh, that the Divine nature was incarnate in Him, the familiarity between them must have ceased—they must have been kept at a vast distance from Him. Peter, indeed, confessed that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God ; but how little he was aware of what was contained in that confession is evident from his venturing a short while after to rebuke Him, saying, "Be it far from Thee, Lord : this shall never be unto Thee." It was not until after His resurrection, possibly not until after the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, that the disciples attained to the full knowledge of the divinity of their Master. Hitherto they had known Christ after the flesh ; henceforth they knew Him after the spirit.

Paul's knowledge of Christ was *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. His former knowledge of Him was relinquished. God had revealed His Son in him. Christ's resurrection life was the declaration of His Divine nature. "He was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead." This was the inauguration, the open manifestation of His Divine Sonship. Henceforth Christ was spiritually discerned—known after the spirit. He dwelt in the hearts of His people. The Spirit that actuated Him actuated His disciples. A spiritual Christ—a Christ who is the Life and Light of men—the Source of all the believer's actions, so that the life of believers is the life of Christ in them—was now revealed. Paul could say not only for himself, but as a representative of all Christians, "I have been crucified with Christ, yet I live ; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me : and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me." It is Christ as a spiritual power, as the Divine Logos, that animates the Church and the world. If it were not for the living Christ the Church would perish. Indeed, the Church is the mystical body of which Christ is the living Spirit.

The Gospel of John, in comparison with the Synoptics, has been called the spiritual Gospel. And certainly the Christ of John is in a pre-eminent degree *Χριστὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα*. His humanity, so far from being overlooked in that Gospel, is prominently brought forward ; but it is a humanity transfigured. Nowhere does the divinity of Christ more clearly appear than in the last discourses of John's Gospel ; the words which He speaks, they are spirit and they are life—the prototypes of eternal realities. We listen to One who can without vanity claim equality with God, and affirm, "I and My Father are one." There is a clearer disclosure of Christ after the spirit in John's Gospel than in the other three.

Thus, then, in the days of the Apostle there were two views of Christ—Christ after the flesh (*κατὰ σάρκα*), and Christ after the spirit (*κατὰ πνεῦμα*) ; the Judaizing teachers adopted the one, and Paul and his disciples adopted the other. Nor are these two views of Christ absent in the present day. There are still many who know Christ after the flesh. The views of the Romanists, for example, are impregnated with this carnal view of Christ. Christ represented to the senses is the object of their worship. Thus one of their chief doctrines, that of transubstantiation, is entirely a carnal view of Christ. The bread at the Communion, according to them, is converted into the actual body of Christ, and the wine into His actual blood ; not in a spiritual, but in a carnal sense, Christ's flesh is eaten and His blood is drunk. But even if this were the case, it is difficult to perceive what moral and spiritual benefit could arise from this carnal participation of Christ. So also all the pompous ceremonies of the Romish Church ; the elevation of the host, the worship of the crucifix, the procession of the clergy, the highly artistic ritualistic observances, are all instances of those carnal ordinances and will-worship which the Apostle condemns. It is by no means affirmed that in the Romish Church Christ is not known after the spirit ; their devotional books prove the contrary ; but that in their outward worship, in their forms and ceremonies, Christ is seen after the flesh.

In recent times numerous lives of Christ have issued from

the press. - And certainly we owe much to these lives. By means of them our Lord is vividly represented to us in the daily actions of His life. We are enabled to picture to ourselves our Lord walking by the Sea of Galilee, and we can accompany Him on His last journey to Jerusalem. There is in them very much to edify us and to promote our religious life. They are of very unequal value ; but about all of them there is a certain feeling of unsatisfactoriness ; they do not approach the ideal ; the human character and actions of Christ are delineated, but His Divine nature is undescribable ; Christ after the flesh, rather than Christ after the spirit, is described.

And the same remark holds good, in a still stronger degree, of the portraits of Christ. The evangelists, unlike human biographers, give us no description of Christ's person ; even John, the beloved disciple, leaves us wholly in the dark. No likeness of Christ has been transmitted to us from the first century, as if Divine Providence intended that we should have no knowledge of Christ after the flesh. But what revelation has not described, human art has attempted. The portraits of Christ by the great masters are numerous ; each forms his own conception, and yet it would seem that there is the same ideal resemblance in all, though from what that resemblance is taken is unknown. The Christs of the great masters, the Christ of Titian in "The Tribute Money," the Christ of Corregio crowned with thorns, the Christ of Dolce consecrating the bread, the Christ of Leonardo da Vinci seated at the table have called forth the admiration of all. But one and all are unsatisfactory ; they are attempts at an ideal which cannot be realized : it seems almost a profanation to attempt to paint Him who is fairer than all the sons of men. The highest masterpiece of art can only be the portrait of Christ after the flesh.

In the Church of the present day, it is to be feared that Christ is known rather after the flesh than after the spirit. Some devout persons attempt the literal imitation of Christ's actions, as St. Francis of Assisi, who imitated even His wounds ; whereas, it is not the imitation of His doings, but

the imbibing of His spirit that is essential. For example, to wash the feet of the disciples is to know Christ after the flesh ; but to cultivate, and to be actuated by that spirit of humility and condescension from which that action of our Lord proceeded, is to know Christ after the spirit. Others expect a temporal reign of Christ upon earth, when in the millennium He will take up His abode in this world and reign with His saints ; thus degrading the Saviour, as if He were a mere earthly sovereign, or as if His bodily presence could transcend His spiritual influence. In our modern teaching there is too great a tendency to dwell almost exclusively on the human nature of Christ, on His example as man ; most necessary indeed, but it must not be so dwelt upon as to overlook or undervalue His Divine nature, the influences of His spirit, and the realization of His life in the soul—*Χριστὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα*. There may be certainly a greater difficulty in realizing Christ's Divine nature than His human. In this material age we are too apt to call in question the supernatural ; to regard Christ merely as the great prophet of Nazareth, a moralist greater than Socrates, the founder of a religion purer and more elevated than that of Buddha or Mahomet, in a similar manner as the Jews regarded their Messiah. We require the Holy Spirit to reveal Christ to us so that we may know Him in the divinity of His person, as well as in the purity of His character, as the incarnate Logos, who is at once the Life and the Light of men.

Such, then, we consider, is the meaning of this passage, and the lessons which it teaches. Christianity is pre-eminently a spiritual religion ; it is the infusion of a new life into the soul of man : Christ must be formed within us the hope of glory. The Jewish religion of outward rites and forms, *Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα*, has yielded to the Christian religion of spirit and of truth, *Χριστὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα*. "The hour cometh and now is when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth ; for such doth the Father seek to be His worshippers. God is a Spirit ; and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and truth."

PATON J. GLOAG, D.D.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

PART I.

IN the study of the relations which exist between philosophy and religion, the first step is to define the elements to be compared by replying, at least summarily, to the two following questions: What is the nature of religion? What is the nature of philosophy?

The word "religion" is thought by many to be derived from the Latin verb, *religare* (to attach, to bind); but this etymology is not accepted by all. Whatever may be its value as regards the history of the language, it may be advantageously employed as a help to memory. Religion contains beliefs which suppose a link between things visible and powers invisible, between the human will and a will superior, between the present life and a future existence. In this widest sense, every affirmation of realities extending beyond the range of sensible experience is a religious affirmation, whatever be its contents and its origin. But religious beliefs generally present themselves in special conditions. They do not stand out as the result of individual research, but they constitute a tradition. For believers this tradition is founded, not upon the meditations of sages guided solely by their reason, but upon a Divine revelation.

In the following pages I purpose treating of religion viewed under this aspect. Setting aside the relations which exist between philosophy and the manifestations of religious sentiment considered as a purely psychological fact, we shall examine the relations between philosophy and those religions held to be revealed. Both these subjects of study are alike interesting, nor can they be completely separated; they are, nevertheless, distinct one from the other; and it is upon the latter that we desire particularly to turn our attention.

Religion constitutes one of the main features of humanity. It is affirmed that there are certain savage tribes that have no belief whatever in a world superior to their present existence; but supposing our knowledge of these races to be sufficiently exact to justify this affirmation, it is an undeniable fact that they are, in every respect, in a state of complete degradation, or, in other words, that they have lost the features which distinguish man from the brute. But even the existence of these savages deprived of all religious notions would be no more reason for denying that religion is one of the specific characters of humanity than the existence of a certain number of blind people for denying that sight is one of our senses. There are in the very heart of the most advanced civilization men who seem to be as complete strangers to all religious ideas as savages themselves, because they have lost what they may once have possessed in this respect. An organ may be unsound or undeveloped, and yet exist.

The universality of the religious element meets with a more serious objection in the knowledge we have acquired of Oriental civilization. Some scholars affirm that the doctrines of Buddha were originally, and are still for the initiated, atheistic doctrines, and that the Hindoo Nirvana is simply annihilation. It is, nevertheless, certain that Buddha is considered by his disciples as a revealer, and that the idea of a final Nirvana agrees with that of the survivance of the soul.

It may be averred, for very substantial reasons, that Confucius never considered himself as a revealer, but as a sage. He has, notwithstanding, become the object of a special worship; temples have been raised to his glory; and the transformation of this teacher of wisdom into a founder of religion precisely shows that, in China as elsewhere, religion is naturally rooted in the human soul.

Therefore the specific character of religion is the affirmation of realities above and beyond the reach of sensible and ordinary experience. What, now, is philosophy?

Philosophy, which must be distinguished from the philosophical sciences such as logic, psychology, and ethics, is the effort of thought to attain a principle of unity which will

supply a rational explanation of the whole of the facts of experience. Philosophy is the study of the universal problem. It asks what is the principle of the world, and making of the conception of this principle its starting-point, and of reason its sole basis, it seeks to solve the problems that bear upon all the orders of science, and particularly those which concern the origin and destinies of humanity. Religious beliefs and philosophical theories all have the same objects, but the nature of their affirmations differs. Religious *dogmas* which rest upon a basis of faith are to be distinguished from philosophical *doctrines* which present themselves as the mere result of the exercise of reason.

Philosophy does not attain the same degree of generality as religion. It cannot exist where the satisfaction of material wants absorbs all the functions of the intellect ; but it appears in a certain number of minds, wherever civilization reaches a particular degree of development. If it exists actually only in cultured minds, we may say that virtually it exists in all, just as the flower exists, before it blooms, in the plant which will produce it when the conditions necessary to its blossoming are realized.

The relation between philosophy and religion may be understood in three different ways—separation, opposition, harmony. We shall endeavour to establish that complete separation between philosophy and religion is impossible ; that they are not in necessary opposition one to the other, and that a harmonious agreement of both is possible. Separation, opposition, harmony will, therefore, be the three heads of this study.

I.—SEPARATION.

Those who have affirmed not only the distinction between religion and philosophy, but their absolute separation, are by no means few in number. In this respect believers and philosophers move in two spheres of ideas which bear no relation whatever one with the other. If

the same individual turns his attention now to religion, now to philosophy, he must, on entering either of these domains, set aside all that relates to the other, just as certain frivolous women put away, as they cross the threshold of the sanctuary, all their conventional notions, and cast from them, at the door of the drawing-room, all the rules of conduct which, at church, they have professed to adopt. Descartes gives a striking example of the application of this mode of thought; he persuades himself that he has laid aside his Christian belief, and that it is utterly cast out in the construction of his system. The Italian Pomponat is another instance of the application of the same process. As a philosopher, he rejects the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which, as a Catholic Christian, he fully admits. In his case the separation between the two is considered as so thorough that what is affirmed in one of the domains may be denied in the other.

This method is contrary to the idea of philosophy which, as a universal science, cannot leave unnoticed so important a fact as religion. Religious beliefs, and their influence on individuals and societies, are phenomena which subsist, whatever the origin ascribed to them, and an exhaustive science is compelled to state them and to seek an explanation of them. The notion of a complete separation is not less contrary to the spirit of religion rightly conceived; for, in the words of Madame de Staël, "Religion is nothing at all, if it is not the all of life." If true faith must pervade the whole soul, it must also, of all necessity, act upon the intellect. All absolute separation between the various factors of the spiritual life is contrary to the constitution of the human mind. In fact, the living person is a unity, a centre in which all things meet. The various elements of its existence may and must be distinct, but the negation of their relations is, in all cases, a violent and false abstraction.

In truth, the total separation of religion from philosophy is an impossibility. Descartes was mistaken when he flattered himself that he had completely banished Christian tradition from his system of philosophy. If we carefully note the

moment when he employs the word "God," we shall see that the signification he gives this term is not wholly the result of the logical antecedents which precede it, but that, with the word "God," there enters in his mind a traditional element due to the teachings he had received in his childhood. He affirms, in fact, the Christian idea of the Almighty Creator, and he has merely demonstrated the existence of an infinite Being. The separation of these two ideas was rendered more evident by Spinoza, who, starting from the same point as Descartes, affirmed the existence of the infinite Being and denied the creative power. More than one attempt has been made to write a history of philosophy from which the religious order, properly so-called, would be completely excluded; such a history would be nothing more than a strange mutilation. It is one of the highest titles to glory of Dr. Henri Ritter, the greatest modern historian of philosophy, that he has set prominently forth the action of Christianity upon philosophy, and that he has taken the preaching of the Gospel as the basis of the principal division of his work. He shows that Christian preaching has modified the notion of God, such as it existed in antiquity, or, in other words, that it has introduced in science a different conception of the principle of the universe.

The streams of religion and philosophy must inevitably mingle, like two rivers whose waters unite and flow in the same channel. The attempt to separate them completely cannot succeed, but it produces the most fatal results. It leads to a distinction between two classes of men—men of religion and men of science. This distinction once established, it is easy to make one step further, and to affirm that religion is good for the masses, but that the learned and the wise have naught to do with it. Then faith and thought, religion and science, are bound to remain within their respective limits and never to meet. After the violent struggles of the eighteenth century, a conception of this sort arose in France under the influence of the eclectic school, at the head of which marched Victor Cousin. In reality, the speculative side of the question more

or less gave way to practical considerations. It was, so to speak, a treaty of peace between the clergy and the professors of the university ; each of these two classes of men agreeing to remain on its own particular ground while living on terms of mutual respect.

This mode of considering the question, called forth in 1845 a protest from M. Edgar Quinet, who says : " To cut all difficulties short, men affirm that philosophy has nothing to do with religion ; that these are two entirely different worlds, which have nothing whatever in common. The masses require a religion, a positive God. These are terrible words for those who thus place themselves on one side and push away on the other almost the whole of the human race, accepting for themselves I know not what formula, what splendour, what special God, and, for their fellows, for the mind of the multitudes, an endless, boundless, shoreless night, an inert God, the yoke of an eternally silent mystery. It is a serious matter for men thus to declare that they will bask in ever-increasing light whilst the rest of the world lies riveted to an invisible chain which will never loosen its hold. For the happy, a God of light ; for the wretched, a God of darkness. Have I heard aright ? Is this thought indeed an offshoot of our age ?

"The masses must have a God ! This is the most formidable utterance that has been heard for the last fifteen years, for it is the key of the theory which aims at establishing definitively these two categories : the privileged of light and the proletaries of darkness. Admit in thought, for an instant, the continuous progress of mind in some, the eternal immobility of belief in others ; the unity of society is broken ; humanity breaks up into two irreconcilable fractions, for ever separated by an abyss which everlastingly widens between them. The work of Christianity is destroyed."

My views, on many points, differ from those of the eloquent writer, but I join unreservedly not in all the words quoted, but in the sentiment which has inspired them. The serious danger which the thought of a complete separation between religion and philosophy presents is the destruction of

the spiritual unity which it is the mission of Christianity to create.

This false notion has been the result partly of the absence of freedom of thought ; and in certain cases it may have been useful, almost necessary. Pomponat, for instance, who, as a Catholic, affirmed the immortality of the soul, which, as a philosopher, he denied, lived between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Before and after his time the annals of history tell of persecutions against philosophers, of persecutions that ended often in imprisonment and the stake. No wonder that, in such a situation, men who aspired not at martyrdom found it wise to declare that what may be accepted religiously may at the same time be philosophically denied. When Descartes wrote, the fires destined for philosophers had burnt out (Vanini, in 1619, was the last victim), but the prison doors were not yet closed, as the history of Galileo shows, and it was still prudent, in order to philosophize in safety, to declare that the Christian truths were absolutely out of question. That is what Descartes does most explicitly, and in so doing he simply follows up his own thought, which was that of his age. He seriously believed in the separation of the two domains, but he was not indifferent to the desire of avoiding difficulties and annoyances. He succeeded but imperfectly in attaining his object. During his lifetime he remained on friendly terms with the Jesuits ; but the Protestant theologians of Holland caused him more than one vexation, and shortly after his death his disciples were seriously annoyed by a part of the Catholic clergy.

The prudence of philosophers, in a social state from which liberty was absent, was one of the causes of the attempt made to isolate philosophy from religious tradition, but it was only a secondary cause. This attempt was mainly the result of the incorrect notions relating to methods which were in favour during the seventeenth century, and which still exist in many a mind at the present day. Science, men said, is the offshoot of reason alone, of experience alone, or of the union of experience and reason, to the exclusion of all hypothesis. The beliefs of faith are neither facts of experience nor facts of reason in the

scientific sense of these terms. Thus religious tradition was completely excluded from the domain of philosophy, and even those who, with Arnauld, Bossuet, and Fénelon, thought that there exists a fundamental harmony between the data of faith and the research of reason, could only consider this concordance as outward and accidental. At any rate, this harmony was not, in their opinion, the result of an influence exercised upon philosophy by religious tradition; they traced its origin back to God, the Author of rational and revealed truth. These two orders of facts, though derived from one common source, flowed in absolutely different channels; science and faith seemed to them to be separated by a chasm, over which it was impossible to cast a bridge.

This bridge is cast by the idea of the true method, such as I have endeavoured to establish it, by demonstrating that science is born, not of experience alone, or of reason alone, nor of the union of experience and reason, but of hypotheses developed by reason and justified by experience. When once it is stated that science is built upon hypotheses only, the affirmations of the religious dogmas stand out in the philosophical point of view as hypotheses for examination. The true method (and that is not the least of its advantages) once more brings the two domains, which hitherto had been separated, into direct communication one with the other. The *dogmas* which answer to the questions stated by philosophy may be isolated from religious tradition, and considered as mere *doctrines*. The relations between philosophy and religion will henceforth depend solely on the result of the rational examination of these doctrines.

II.—OPPOSITION.

The separation between philosophy and religion was the predominant idea of the seventeenth century; their opposition was one of the theses most strongly sustained by the French writers of the following age. Voltaire, when he attacked Christianity, defended the existence of God; but his deism is

so feebly coloured and so mingled with sarcasm that it borders on negation. Rousseau maintained the elementary facts of the religious order with a grave and pathetic accent, and he manifested towards the Gospel a respect which, at times, seems akin to faith. But the most active and ardent party was that of the Encyclopædists, who declared war, not against a particular form of religion, but against religion itself. If some of them, approaching Rousseau, admitted the existence of God and the future state, the absolute negation of Christianity was their common theme, their pass-word. A philosopher, according to the general sense of the expression, is a man who studies, who reflects, who seeks. At that period of history, the philosophers formed a social party. The most miserable of scribblers and the most ignorant of women were admitted into the philosophical society on the sole ground that they declaimed against throne and altar. Matters had reached such a point that d'Alembert, who was not one of the defenders of throne or altar, declared that he felt disposed to say of the title of philosopher, "I care not for that title, for there are too many rascals who wear it."

The writers who spoke in such a high tone have been severely judged by history. To use the words of Tennemann, one of the most highly esteemed historians of philosophy, "Those who, at that time, styled themselves *philosophers*, endeavoured to establish liberty of thought, but governed as they were by narrow and frivolous dispositions, all they did was to promulgate worthless doctrines which confounded man with nature or divinized the world, which declared the belief in God to be doubtful and unnecessary, and rejected all positive religion as priestly imposture."

Our age is not free from this mode of thinking. The use of the word *philosopher* has become comparatively rare, because philosophy has been disparaged under the influence of positivism ; but it has come into fashion to designate under the title of *freethinkers* all who are strangers to, or in open war with, religious faith. Is not this expression a sort of acknowledgment (believers who use it should take heed) that free-thought separates itself from faith, and cannot again unite

with it? Now, to acknowledge this is to admit implicitly that there exists an absolute antagonism between faith and reason. This is precisely the thesis of the Encyclopædists. But the most superficial observation will suffice to convince us that most of the so-called freethinkers of the day are such in obedience to orders only, and believe, simply because others do, that the time has come to believe in nothing at all.

The desperate warfare engaged in by many writers of the eighteenth century against religious and social order was, for the most part, the result of evil passions, but it was also a revolt of the generous instincts of nature against the errors and faults of the past. Civil authority had taken dogma under its protection and attempted to impose the profession of religious faith by the menace of temporal chastisement. Prudent minds then reasoned thus: "We have been persecuted in the name of dogma; in our works we shall set aside dogma." Thence followed the separation of faith from the labour of thought. Other and more ardent minds said: "We have been persecuted in the name of dogma; we shall destroy dogma in order to destroy persecution." The use of secular power in matters of faith had produced a reaction against faith itself.

A similar error had sprung up in the domain of theology, properly so-called. A certain number of doctors considered that they would serve religion by anathematizing all research of reason. In their opinion, scepticism was the path destined to lead men to the Christian temple. Some of the Fathers of the ancient Church had already expressed this idea; a few modern writers have followed in their footsteps, and even Pascal himself is not entirely without reproach in this respect. And so war had been declared against philosophy in the name of religion; the response came: war against religion in the name of philosophy. Men said: "You deny reason in the name of dogma, and establish unity by the negation of science; we deny dogma in the name of reason, and establish unity by the negation of religion." Thus has the error of theologians called forth a reaction which

has led to the proclamation of an absolute opposition between faith and science. The Christian Church in its generality is not responsible for this mistake, which is directly opposed to the grand theological tradition. The Apostle Paul saw in the altar raised by the Athenians to the unknown God a presentiment of the truth ; and he found in the writings of a heathen poet an argument in support of his Gospel. The most illustrious of the Fathers, St. Justin, St. Augustine ; the greatest doctors of the Middle Ages, St. Anselm, St. Thomas ; the most famous bishops of the seventeenth century, Bossuet, Fénelon, far from denying the value of reason in the interest of dogma, believed in a possible harmony between the religious doctrines and the result of a serious research of thought. This good tradition has found many a worthy representative up to the present day ; among them we may mention Father Lacordaire and Alexandre Vinet. The scepticism of certain theologians and the incredulity *a priori* of the negative philosophers set forth the struggle between two prejudices. Let us put aside all prejudice, and study the question in itself.

The gravity of this matter is undeniable. The idea of the separation between religion and philosophy may, as we have already seen, exert a fatal influence by re-establishing in the Christian world the division of mankind into two classes, the initiated and the vulgar, and thus renewing in the heart the wretched sentiment of pride and caste spirit. But this result, however natural it be, is not necessary, nor is it produced upon every mind. The great thinkers of the seventeenth century, while generally admitting the separation of the two domains, were far from drawing such conclusions from this idea. The thought of the opposition of religion to philosophy is far more terrible, for it rends the souls of those who feel within them the aspirations of faith and the desires of the intellect, and inflicts a deep and painful wound. If it can be demonstrated that this notion is false, a great step will have been taken towards the spiritual peace of individuals and of society.

EDWARD NAVILLE.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Sermons. *The World of Faith and the Every-day World* (1) is a volume of addresses, lectures, or sermons on the subject of Faith, founded most appropriately on the life of Abraham. It is a cheering, charming, and satisfactory work; and it keeps close to its title, for it does show the connection between faith and every-day life. While, therefore, justification by faith is by no means forgotten, there are also chapters about riches and poverty, faith and valour, faith and patriotism, marriage, and many other every-day topics. There are chapters about angels, and a good part of the book is taken up with the doctrine of prayer. What is wanted nowadays, says the author, is hope. "Hope for the individual, hope for the nation, hope for mankind must fill the soul. If not, we had better turn hermits. . . . Men of faith must work with diligence and courage . . . the Church of Christ must have confidence in herself, because she is the Church of Christ, because He, the conquering Sun, dwells in her midst. But she must herself also strive after that true freedom, toleration, and large-heartedness which are self-justified in every heart that thirsts for eternal blessings. What is wanted is, not to accommodate the Gospel to 'the ideas of the spirit of the age,' in other words, to *betray* the Gospel. What is wanted is, not to extort artificial conversions by drums, trumpets, descriptions of hell, inflammatory speeches, sensational addresses, convulsions of penitence—according to the recipe of the Salvation Army and other spiritual machinery. For this is to put a new *Law* in the place of the Gospel, and to establish a new Pharisaism in the place of the old. No, not one tittle that belongs to the Gospel must fall from it; but, on the other hand, nothing must be added to it which is alien to its spirit." It is on these lines that Dr. Funcke proceeds, and we must congratulate him on having produced a work that is fresh, vigorous, and healthy in tone; it is a work from which the pastor and teacher may draw many useful hints, both as to matter and manner, and the

(1) *The World of Faith and the Every-day World*. By Otto Funcke. Translated from the Sixth German Edition by Sophia Taylor. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891. Price 7s. 6d.

book forms a useful companion for any one who desires profitable reading. The difficulties connected with the Biblical account of Abraham are fairly met ; and the lessons to be drawn from it are well brought out. Altogether it is a work which does credit to the author, the translator, and the publisher.

Magazines. *The Weekly Pulpit* (London : Elliot Stock) is a periodical consisting entirely of sermons and outlines, together with "Purple Patches" and "Illustrative Anecdotes," designed to be used with the outlines. There is a good deal of suggestive matter in the volume before us, which is the second of a new series ; and one difference between this and *The British Weekly Pulpit* is that the names of the preachers and authors of the sermons are not given.

The Preacher's Assistant sufficiently indicates its purpose by its title. Within the compass of forty-eight pages there is provided a good deal of food for thought and help for the exercises of the pulpit, partly original, partly culled from other publications. It is published at Reading (Pa.), and a sample copy may be had for 10 cents.

The Homiletic Magazine (J. Nisbet & Co.) still runs its course with accustomed vigour. The June number has a continuation of the expository papers on the Miracles of our Lord, by the Rev. W. J. Deane ; and another on the Subjective Power of the Atonement, by Dr. Clemance. There are sermons for the Sundays in June, by Dr. Davies, and two Sermons for Children, together with two Sermon Outlines. In the department of Practical Homiletics there are noticeable papers by Dr. Whitelaw, Rev. R. M. Spoor, Rev. J. Dickerson Davies, and Rev. R. Tuck. Altogether *The Homiletic Magazine* has deservedly attained a high place among the periodicals of its class.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1) in its sixty-first year is still as interesting and as valuable as ever. Excellently edited and beautifully printed, it is a credit to all concerned. In the April number the Rev. Prof. G. Frederick Wright treats of Recent Discoveries bearing on the Antiquity of Man, and concludes with Prof. Green, that "we do violence to Scripture if we impose upon the genealogical tables of the Old Testament an inelastic chronology. The evident purpose of those tables is to impart lines of descent, and not periods of chronology." Mr. McGiffert's article on the Reformed System and the Larger Hope is noticeable, though we expect that it

will not command universal assent. The notes on current literature in this periodical are always well done ; and are a very useful department. There are two articles in reply to one by Dr. Fairfield in the January number on the Resurrection and Final Judgment. These ought to be read with the other.

The Religious Review of Reviews (2) claims to be the original expression of the idea which Mr. Stead has taken such advantage of ; and the two *Reviews of Reviews* are certainly very similar in type and arrangement. This, of course, confines itself to the review of Religious Reviews, and may possibly serve the turn of those who are only able to read a little of the periodical literature of the day, and for those who wish for an index for more extensive examination. Whether such periodicals as this will be of any permanent benefit is a question which time will solve.

The Canadian Methodist Quarterly (3) is an ably-conducted magazine, which contains many noteworthy papers, among which we may mention Human Rights and Social Duties, by W. A. Douglass, which is answered by the editors further on. The Rev. Wm. Jackson writes learnedly and pleasantly on the *Pensées* of Pascal ; and the Rev. R. N. Burns begins the consideration of the Intermediate State. Dr. Johnston's advice on the Cultivation of the Human Voice is good and reasonable ; and so is Dr. Harper's on Systematic Bible Study. The type and turn-out of this magazine are a credit to Canada, and the price is most reasonable.

We welcome the *Nouvelle Revue de Théologie*, of which we have received the first number. It contains an article on Authority and Individuality, by Dr. A. Gretillat ; another on Revelation and Inspiration, by E. Domergue ; a learned disquisition by M. Wabnitz on the term *ἰλαστήριον* ; besides others. There are also a short account of Dr. Pressensé, and a review of lately-published theological works and periodicals. This magazine is a good sign of the activity of religious thought among the Protestants in France and Switzerland, and we trust it will be well supported in its useful course.

(1) *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Oberlin, Ohio. Published by E. J. Goodrich. London : Triübner & Co.

(2) *The Religious Review of Reviews*. London : York Street, Covent Garden.

(3) *The Canadian Methodist Quarterly*. For sale at the Methodist Book-Rooms, Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax.

(4) *Nouvelle Revue de Théologie*. Imprimerie administrative et commerciale J. Granie. Montauban. May, 1891. Price 1 fr. 50 c.

Henderson & Spalding, Printers, Marylebone Lane, London, W.

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The Theological Monthly

MERODACH-BALADAN.

THE marvellous discoveries that recent years have brought to light in the department of historical research have aided in a most striking way the student of the Scriptural records. Modern critical methods, together with the felicitous unearthing of the manuscripts of one or two early documents, have done much to illuminate the beginnings of Christianity, and to vindicate the authentic character of the books of the New Testament; and each fresh investigation of the subject has only served to fortify anew the historic position of Christianity against the hostile attacks of an unscientific scepticism.

Equally wonderful in the case of the Old Testament has been the decipherment of defunct languages, which has rendered possible the (in many cases) detailed delineation of the rise and fall of forgotten or little-known empires; and in no field have these achievements been more fruitful in interest and importance than in the illustration of the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. The study of Egyptology, of Assyriology, and later still, of the Hittite inscriptions, has caused the hieroglyph, the cuneiform, and the ideograph to yield up their hidden treasures for the elucidation of many obscure references, and for the solution of many difficult passages in the sacred writings of the Jews.

Unexpected light has been thrown upon statements which had long baffled the commentator, and which had been too hastily assumed to involve the Scripture record in error. The now-established fact of the long reign of Sargon, and of his invasion of Judah, to which allusion is made by Isaiah, may serve as an illustration of this ; for the incidental and solitary mention of this Assyrian monarch by name, in Isaiah xx. 1, was long viewed with suspicion by hostile critics. And the instances are numerous in which our ampler knowledge now enables us to follow the historical development and changes in the affairs of these kingdoms external but contiguous to the Chosen People, and thus to understand the circumstances which swayed the policy of the kings of Israel and Judah in so far as they were affected by foreign coalitions and antagonisms.

But it would take us beyond the limits of this paper to even briefly illustrate this statement. Suffice it to concentrate our attention upon one name, and to follow the history of one foreign potentate in his relations with a king of Judah and the surrounding nations.

In all the shifting kaleidoscope of Oriental despotisms during the eighth century B.C., the chequered career of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, stands out pre-eminently conspicuous for splendid adventure and romantic reverses. Twice was he crowned king of Babylon, and twice driven from the throne : twice, again, he held sway in the Chaldæan marshes, and twice was tracked thither and defeated by an implacable foe. After his first overthrow, having exchanged the palace at Babylon for a dungeon at Nineveh, it was yet given to him, as it is not given to many political prisoners, to escape from detention and again resume his former throne.

This remarkable prince is mentioned but twice in the sacred record (2 Kings xx. 12-17 ; and Isa. xxxix. 1-6). But as both the documents in which these passages occur are evidently derived from one original source (perhaps the Annals of Hezekiah written by Isaiah and added to by a later editor), it will be sufficient to quote the first-named

passage, the text of which is in a better condition than the parallel account in Isaiah.

"At that time Merodach-baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present unto Hezekiah : for he had heard that Hezekiah had been sick. And Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and showed them all the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures : there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah showed them not.

"Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country, from Babylon. And he said, What have they seen in thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All the things that are in mine house have they seen : there is nothing among my treasures that I have not showed them. And Isaiah said unto Hezekiah, Hear the word of the Lord. Behold the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store unto this day, shall be carried into Babylon : nothing shall be left, saith the Lord."

The two points which are to be noticed here are the illness of Hezekiah and the Babylonian embassy. Both are closely connected, and the date of the former will therefore fix the date of the latter. Now, the length of Hezekiah's reign was twenty-nine years (2 Kings xviii. 2) ; and inasmuch as he lived for fifteen years after his recovery from his sickness, the events referred to must have taken place in the fourteenth year of his reign, B.C. 712-711.

The circumstances recorded in the twentieth chapter therefore precede chronologically those narrated in the two previous chapters of the second Book of Kings. Samaria fell before Sargon, Shalmaneser's successor on the Assyrian throne, in 722, and the account of this and the consequent captivity of the Northern tribes is related 2 Kings xviii. 9-12. It is clear, then, that the invasion of Judah by the Assyrian king, mentioned in ver. 13 as taking place in Hezekiah's four-

teenth year (he is called Sennacherib by error for Sargon), and the recovery of Hezekiah and the Babylonian embassy, were all three closely connected in point of time. It remains to be shown how they were also connected in the relation of cause and effect. For we are now able, thanks to the inscription, to trace the sequence of events which led to Sargon's invasion of Judah in the year 711. A rapid sketch of Merodach-baladan's position will aid us to grasp the situation.

The Chaldæans (*Χαλδαῖοι* is the Assyrian Kaldû, the Babylonian Kasdû) were originally a small tribe living at the head of the Persian Gulf, around the delta of the Euphrates. Of this tribe Merodach-baladan (= Merodach has given a son), the son of Yagina,¹ was hereditary chieftain. His people, however, overflowed their own boundaries into Babylonia, and became so far the most important of the peoples dwelling there that the Greeks applied the name "Chaldæans" indiscriminately to the whole of the Babylonian population. After the rise of the later Assyrian Empire under Tiglath-pileser II., Babylon became subject to Nineveh; and in 731 we find the Chaldee prince also owning the suzerainty of the Assyrian monarch and paying him tribute. After the death of Tiglath-pileser in 727, Babylon gradually recovered its independence, and in 722 Merodach-baladan asserted his sovereignty and was crowned King of Babylon. But the power of the Assyrians under Sargon increased with a rapidity which was calculated to alarm all the neighbouring States. Samaria had been captured in his first year, in 721 part of Elam was conquered and annexed, Hamath and Arpad fell in 720, and in the same year the Egyptian power was shattered at Raphia. Three years later Carchemish succumbed to the same victorious general; and it seemed as though nothing but a strong coalition of the rest

¹ He is called the "son of Yakin" in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser II. and of Sargon, Yakin probably being the tribal name. In 2 Kings xx. 12, "son of Baladan" is no doubt a copyist's error: "baladan" = has given a son, and cannot therefore stand by itself as a complete appellation.

of the threatened nations could save them from a similar fate.

At this juncture, then, Merodach-baladan was busy forming a league which should check, if not crush, the power of Sargon, and with this purpose in view he made the sending of a congratulatory message upon Hezekiah's recovery from sickness the outward excuse for an embassy whose real object was to secure the co-operation of the King of Judah in the anti-Assyrian alliance. In the east a confederacy was already established with Elam, and in the west with Edom, Moab, and Philistia; the aid of Egypt was also being sought, and Hezekiah's willingness to join the league was proved by his "hearkening" to the ambassadors, and displaying all his treasures and armour. His action was no doubt dictated by a desire to impress the embassy with the fact that so wealthy an ally was able to give material assistance, and that his aid was desirable.

The Scripture narrative, it is true, makes no reference to the real purpose of the ambassadors; and, indeed, in the Book of Chronicles a quite different reason from that given in the Book of Kings is assigned as the ostensible cause of the visit;¹ but Hezekiah's proud display of his power and wealth, and the consequent rebuke of the prophet Isaiah, are involved in obscurity until we recognize that the intention of joining in a foreign confederacy underlay the action of the Jewish king.

Politically, the league was a wise and statesmanlike move on the part of the nations concerned; but the weapons of Judah were not to be those of the world's intrigues: in reliance on the arm of Jehovah alone lay her defence. And this departure from the path of true safety brought its own punishment. Sargon soon learnt of the formation of the league, and by an acute masterstroke of generalship, without

¹ Namely, scientific curiosity with regard to the phenomenon of the shadow upon the sun-dial (2 Chron. xxxii. 31), "Howbeit in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land, God left him to try him, that He might know all that was in his heart."

waiting until the confederacy could mature its plans or combine its forces, he determined to attack its members singly.

In 711 he accordingly made his first move and marched upon Palestine. Ashdod was levelled with the ground, and Judah overrun by the Assyrian soldiery. Edom and Moab were once more reduced, and then the Assyrian monarch was free to deal with the King of Babylon. The Elamites were scattered, and Merodach-baladan himself defeated and exiled after a reign of twelve years. This was in 710.

Sargon died in 705. The adventurous Merodach-baladan, who had been pursued into the marshy recesses at the head of the Persian Gulf, and according to one account taken prisoner in 709, now seized the opportunity to escape, and re-ascend the throne of Babylon. His second reign, however, was but short-lived. In 704, Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon, overcame him in a battle at Kis, and again Merodach-baladan was forced to flee southwards to the sea coast. But the indomitable energy of the intrepid prince did not desert him even under these adversities. He entrenched himself among the inaccessibilities of the Euphrates delta, and held sway within the borders of his original chieftaincy for four years. But in the year 700 he was once more driven from his position; and now he fled across the gulf to the shores of Elam. Again, he formed a settlement and reigned for three years, but only to be pursued by Sennacherib, and to see his Chaldæan kingdom finally destroyed. The catastrophic vicissitudes of the royal Babylonian intrigues were now at an end; henceforth Merodach-baladan disappears from history.

In 691, the city of Babylon itself, the scene of the Chaldæan prince's brightest days, was given to the flames and razed to the ground by the merciless Sennacherib; and it remained in ruins until rebuilt by Esar-haddon some twelve years later, when it was constituted a joint capital with Nineveh.

T. H. BINDLEY.

THE REVISION OF CREEDS.

NOBODY maintains that a written creed is essential to the existence of Christianity. If any one did so, he would be bound to account for the fact that the Church lived and flourished for three centuries without the aid of such a document ; and if matters now stood as they did then, the clergy might still enter on their office without giving any written guarantee of the soundness of their faith. The rise and growth of serious error within the Church made it useful to have some ready mode of distinguishing between those who proclaimed the truth and those who opposed it—of admitting the one and excluding the other. The rise and spread of the Arian heresy led to the production in A.D. 325 of the Creed of Nice, which gives clear expression to the doctrine of Christ's divinity, and which, with some important additions introduced afterwards, has been accepted ever since by the majority of Christian people as the standard of orthodoxy on the subject with which it deals.

If the Church did not content herself with this venerable symbol, but in the course of time adopted other creeds, the reason is that error began to prevail on other subjects as well as on the Trinity ; and it became necessary again to protect, so far as it could be done, the flock of Christ from false teachers, who, like so many "grievous wolves," entered to ravish and destroy. Experience has amply shown that one of the best expedients for securing this object is the adoption of a written creed which Churches, sensitively alive to the presence and disastrous effects of error, require their official teachers to subscribe as a guarantee for purity of doctrine before they are entrusted with the charge of souls. Were all Christians of one mind as to the main truths of the Gospel, there would not be the same necessity for the acceptance of a written symbol.

To insist upon subscription to a creed expressed in human words is not, as some have represented it, disparaging to the Word of God. Every day makes it obvious how

Christian men, whose intelligence and sincerity cannot be doubted, interpret the Holy Scriptures so as to derive from them different and sometimes contradictory meanings. Churches in general are formed of persons who substantially agree on the main points of Christianity. In order to secure harmony and confidence between teachers and taught, it becomes necessary in these circumstances that ministers give to those who wait on their ministry a clear and certain intimation of the system of truth which they understand to be contained in the Scriptures. This could not be done by quoting passages from the inspired text, which men of all opinions profess to receive. It can only be done satisfactorily by their accepting a document conveying in human language the meaning that they understand the Divine Word to express. The usual mode of doing this is by giving in writing or otherwise assent to a creed.

During the middle ages the Western Church adopted the Nicene, the Apostles', and the Athanasian Creeds into the Church worship, and the practice continues in the Roman, Lutheran, and Anglican Churches at the present day. The Reformed Church did not as a rule retain them in the Church Service, though it held fast by the doctrine contained in them, and gave expression to that doctrine in other forms. Perhaps there is no section of the visible Church in which the great Christian verities embodied in the Three Creeds are held at this moment with more tenacity than in the Presbyterian Churches of the United Kingdom and America.

After the great disruption of Church communion in the sixteenth century, every great section of the now divided Church found it useful to give expression to its views of revealed truth in new creeds and confessions, many of which are accepted without alteration at the present time. Romanists did so in the Decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Creed of Pope Pius IV. (1564), and the Vatican Decrees of 1871. The Lutherans were the first to set the example of so doing, in the Augsburg Confession (1530), and at a later period in the Formula of Concord (1577). The Anglicans did the same in the Thirty-nine Articles (1563), and in the

Book of Common Prayer. The Reformed Church, in each country where its principles made way, drew up at first a separate confession for itself; but all of these, as shown by Peter Hall in his *Harmony of the Protestant Confessions*, exhibited a very striking agreement as to fundamental principles. Eventually the Reformed Churches of Great Britain and America, professing the Presbyterian system, accepted as their creed the confession drawn up at Westminster in 1647, and it is now the common standard of all Presbyterians of the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world. Owing to the spread of Rationalism, several of the Continental Reformed Churches have in modern times fallen away from the profession of the confession which they accepted after parting from Rome; but all the other sections of Christianity, Greek, Roman, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Anglican, require from all admitted to their ministry assent in some form to a written statement expressive of their principles.

Though a creed is the doctrinal symbol of the party by whom it is adopted, it is not made in any of these Churches, so far as we know, a term of communion. A layman may not only attend the services, but be in full membership, without being committed to the creed of the denomination. Of course, men are not likely in ordinary circumstances to abide permanently in any section of the Church with whose principles in general they do not agree; but formal assent to the denominational confession is not required from private members in any of these Churches. To accept the creed of the body is demanded only from official teachers, in order to give the laity an assurance that the ministers hold the principles which they are appointed to teach, and in order to secure the confidence of their ministerial brethren.

From the acceptance of a public and common creed by the clergy, two other results indirectly flow. It becomes a bond of union among the official rulers and teachers of the Church, for men cannot help but feel more warmly to those who hold the same principles than they do to others. Moreover, its tendency is to prevent controversies and quarrels, for all opportunity for dispute is always found to diminish in

proportion to the points on which men are agreed. So great are these advantages, that Churches which enjoy them are most reluctant to break away from their creeds, and return to that chaotic condition in which every man believes to be gospel whatever is right in his own eyes. No doubt the acceptance of a creed imposes more or less restriction on a vagrant fancy ; but the restriction often proves to be wholesome, and it is at any time a small matter as compared with the temptation to licence that the removal of creeds would open up to rash and bold speculation.

The aim of a creed is not, as some seem to suppose, to catch up and give expression to the religious opinion of the age, which is never a fixed quantity, but always changes from generation to generation. A creed in that case would not be like a needle always pointing to the pole of truth, but a weathercock, ever shifting with the wind, and seldom to-day what it was yesterday. Its aim is rather to express in ordinary language the substantial truth which Divine revelation conveys on the various points that the creed is intended to cover. In proportion as this is done perfectly, the creed is sound ; but in proportion as, along with this, it admits less or more of the floating opinion of the age when it was produced, it is likely to be unsound. It is difficult for the keenest mind to see truth exactly as it is, and the difficulty is increased when the attempt is made to express it accurately in words. We are like men looking at a landscape through coloured glass. We gaze at truth too often through the coloured medium of our preconceived opinions, and sometimes see in the Bible not what is actually there, but what we wish to be there. Owing to this cause, few creeds indeed contain the pure and naked truth, but only truth as seen by those who were mainly concerned in their construction. The result is that while the Word of God abideth for ever and the truth contained in it is always the same, what appears to be truth to one generation does not always so appear to another. As time elapses, the discrepancy widens. Changes occur which affect the medium through which we look ; and, thus seen, the truth, unchangeable and eternal in itself, sometimes appears

to us quite a different thing from what it appeared to others in former days. These new aspects of truth are not expressed in the old creeds; and as time wears on, men feel growing within them a painful sense of the difference between the truth as revealed and the confessional expression of that truth.

Nor is this the only thing that suggests to men the necessity of reconsideration and revision. Since the creed was composed, it may be centuries ago, new errors, unknown to the men of other times, have come to light, which either undermine the foundation or assail the structure of Christianity itself. When the creed is examined, it is found to be entirely silent on the subject, or to express the opposite truth very inadequately. The heresy did not come within range of the vision of the creed-makers, and therefore nothing, or almost nothing, is said of the truth which that heresy denies. Yet error now is as dangerous as error in ancient times; and therefore there is the same necessity as in former ages for its formal condemnation.

The two considerations now stated sufficiently account for the growing desire that is abroad for the revision and alteration of Church formularies. There is another sometimes advanced, but obviously entitled to less weight. This is, that the minute details of doctrine, to which the subscriber to a creed is pledged, shut out many a man from entering the ministry, who from literary and moral attainments would be well qualified to fill it. Provided such details are unwarranted by the rule of faith, they ought not to be in the creed, and ought not to be allowed to shut out any qualified man holding the truth of the Gospel. But if the details complained of are Scriptural and true, no individual should expect them to be cut out for his personal accommodation. So long as the Church has in its offer a sufficient number desirous to enter its ministry and willing to accept its principles as they stand, it is in no need to open the door to others who, though equal to their fellows in moral excellence, cannot so fully accept its principles. To meet the wish of the individual would not in this case promote the interest of the religious community.

It would give men of lax principles a local position and authority in the Church which at present they do not possess. It would impair confidence among brethren, and give occasion to controversy and strife. The world is very wide, and creeds are very many; surely every qualified man may find some section of Christianity into whose ministry he can enter with a good conscience, without asking that the ancient ecclesiastical barriers in any denomination shall be swept away for his personal convenience.

However justifiable in some points of view a revision or reconstruction of creeds may be, he is a bold man who, in the temper of these times, would undertake the labour. The great difficulty of the task suggests one striking disadvantage of a creed. If error once gets in, it is almost impossible to get it out. If falsehood is there, the creed conserves and perpetuates the false as well as the true. In proportion to its importance, the error which has found a place in her creed hangs like a millstone round the neck of the Church from generation to generation. This, however, only puts the necessity for revision in a clearer light.

The obvious remedy for such a state of things would be, cut away the error. But wise men hesitate in making the attempt, because they are not sure that they would be able against the opinion of those who think otherwise, to effect an improvement, and fear that if the ecclesiastical pruning-knife is called in, it might be the truth, and not the error, that would suffer excision. Another suggestion often thrown out, is to relax the formula, so as to release the subscriber from the obligation of professing to believe what is erroneous; but such is the perversity of the human mind that many would use this relaxing in the sense of being set free from believing what is true as well as from believing what is erroneous. Relaxing the formula cuts both ways. Some prefer supplement by way of explanation; as the creed shows the sense in which they understand the Scriptures, the explanatory statement points out the sense in which they understand the creed. This is an awkward and cumbrous contrivance. Every new generation will need a new explanatory statement

to explain something omitted or inserted in the statement that has gone before it. Perhaps the best expedient is to put any objectionable words in brackets, and for the Church authorities to exempt all future subscribers from being under obligation to accept the bracketed portions as expressive of their faith.

But this expedient is quite inadequate to meet the other aspect of the case. A new crop of errors has appeared since the Reformation, many of them, indeed, within the last forty years. These errors touch the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures, the fatherhood of God, the nature and guilt of sin, the value of the atonement, the resurrection of the body, the efficacy of prayer, and the future life. The same necessity exists for a confessional declaration condemning the current heresies on these subjects, as existed in the early ages for a creed condemning Sabellianism, Arianism, Nestorianism, and Pelagianism, and as setting forth Biblical truth as opposed to Popery in the sixteenth century. This suggests, on the ground of utility, the production of a new creed, supplementary to any now known to exist. Who has the authority and ability to construct such a creed, and who would accept it even if it were constructed? If it were produced, will it add only another to the denominational creeds already in existence, or will it take rank with the three ancient creeds, and be worthy of acceptance by all Christians? The former effort might be practicable, but it would not be heroic; the latter would be a service to all Christendom, but it would be a gigantic task, and its author would earn an undying name.

The difficulties of effecting a safe revision of an old creed, or of drawing up a new confession, which the multitude will accept as fairly expressive of Christian truth and suited to the times, are so enormous as to deter wise men from making the attempt, and to dispose many to put up with some present evils rather than run the risk of encountering unseen dangers, the magnitude of which cannot at present be estimated or foreseen. In prospect of the anxieties thus started, Lord Melbourne's adage recurs to us as a kind of relief: "Why not let it alone?"

THOMAS WITHEROW.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

PART II.

WHAT is the true relation between religion and philosophy? Philosophy is the highest expression of reason naturally turned towards unity ; it is the research of a unique principle of the universe. From this it follows that it is incompatible with polytheism. That is the reason why we see the Greek philosophers, notwithstanding the diversity of their sects, hostile to national religion. They may, from a political motive, encourage their fellow-citizens to observe the ordinances of their Church, but their doctrines are contrary to its worship. An inevitable struggle is engaged between idolatry and the very spirit of scientific research. The situation changes when monotheism is in question. If religion teaches the unity of the principle of the world, its harmony with philosophy is possible, but this is not a sufficient condition.

There is a certain number of ideas, sentiments, and spiritual acts which form an essential part of religion. Under various forms, all more or less pure or corrupted, they are found wherever the belief in relations with the higher powers exists : thus, in the order of ideas, the Divine law, and sin which is the violation of this law ; in the order of sentiment, repentance, fear, hope ; in the order of action, prayer, thanksgiving, the practice of good. These ideas, these sentiments, these actions, all suppose liberty. Religion supposes the liberty of man, and Christianity affirms this idea to a far greater extent than any other worship by ascribing the origin of evil to the sin of the creature. Religion likewise supposes the liberty of God, since it teaches men to call upon Him as a Being capable of action and willing to answer prayer. A consistent fatalism would suppress every act of worship,

and constitute a dogma which might be theological, but which would be essentially irreligious. That harmony between religion and philosophy may become possible, it is, therefore, not enough that religion should teach the monotheism towards which philosophy gravitates, but philosophy must also make room for liberty, that essential element of religion.

Philosophy is, generally speaking, mere research, and this research is, by its own nature, hostile to polytheism and concordant with monotheism. If we pass from this aspect of philosophy to the various systems which spring from it, the systems that deny liberty are incompatible with religion, whilst those which leave liberty its right place establish between religion and philosophy a perfect harmony. The problem of the relation between these two domains cannot, therefore, be solved in an abstract and general manner; nothing can be determined further than the harmony between a particular system of philosophy and a particular form of religion. Let us, therefore, enter upon the examination of systems considered from this point of view.

In reality, there are but three systems which, together with the conflicts they continually sustain one with another and against the various forms of scepticism, constitute the whole of the history of philosophy—materialism, idealism, and spiritualism.

Materialism, which reduces the universe to the object of our immediate and sensible experience, is the direct negation of the religious idea, since the essence of religion is precisely the joining of the world of our experience to higher realities, the visible to the invisible, the present to the future. Any conception of an order of things superior to the perception of our actual senses is folly, for materialism calls forth, on its part, that raillery which the genius of antique sculpture has symbolized in some of its principal works of art. Whence does this folly proceed? If there exists nothing but atoms in motion, how is it that these same atoms, even supposing them to have the faculty of thought, are capable of thinking of anything beyond themselves? Materialism leaves this question unanswered; it even seems to be labouring under an in-

tellectual blindness which prevents it from seeing the question at all. No alliance whatever is, therefore, logically possible between religion under any of its forms and this philosophy, which is simply atheism unveiled. We do not mean to say that, practically, materialism never mingles with religion ; it often insinuates itself into the religious domain to sully it by the glorification of sensual instinct, and to profane its worship by the introduction of impure ceremonies. We have instances of this monstrous alliance in the infamous rites of the ancient East, and among the Greeks in the worship of Bacchus and Venus, remains of which still linger in the songs of our drunkards and in the poems of modern debauchees.

Idealism is the doctrine which considers the world as the development of certain fatal laws. By the negation of liberty, which it affirms, it is logically as inconsistent with religion as materialism itself ; but the opposition between them is less obvious ; an apparent harmony may exist between these incompatible elements. Idealism, by its very nature, leaves full scope to the conceptions of the eternal and the infinite ; and, as it does not succeed in remaining in the sphere of pure abstraction, and as, in order to become intelligible, it makes use of the idea of an unknown but eternal and infinite power, it in reality opens the way to the mystic adoration of the incomprehensible. This incomprehensible power, answering to the pure ideas of the eternal and the infinite, is conceived as inseparable from the world, not existing separately, but realized in the transitory phenomena which are its manifestation. The adoration of this power, which is one with the world, of this power which is the substance or principle of the universe, without being its cause, which acts unconsciously, and realizes ideas which it has not elaborated—this adoration constitutes pantheism. In the religious vocabulary, idealism becomes pantheism, just as materialism becomes atheism. Howbeit, the existence of a free God, the Creator and the Author of the moral law, given to beings capable of action, is alike denied in both cases ; so that if the word God is to be defined by the idea of a free and self-conscious power, pantheism and atheism are one

and the same thing. Pantheism is atheistic, religiously speaking, but it is not metaphysically so ; and as its atheism does not reveal itself at first sight, it is particularly seen in history, where it allies itself with forms of worship which it interprets at will, whilst consistent materialism hurls its sarcastic darts at, and abstains from, them.

This alliance was strongly marked, chiefly in India then at Alexandria, at a time when the Greek world fell under the influence of the East. We see the sages whose doctrine was pantheism, and the masses whose religion was idolatry, prostrated together in the same temples, and performing together the rites of the same worship. The harmony between them is apparent, but beneath the surface lies absolute opposition. For the people there are real, manifold, living gods ; for the wise, these gods are mere abstractions, the diverse symbols of the unknown power, of the eternal idea. For the people, will exists in heaven and upon earth ; for the wise, a free act is a delusion, nothing is true but the fatality of thought. Religion affirms causes superior to nature, but without unity ; philosophy affirms the unity of the universal principle, but denies causality and liberty. It is because of this double explanation of the same formulas and of the same practices that pantheism can unite with idolatry. When a man has been initiated in the doctrine of the sages, he may still partake in the common worship, but for him it has another and different significance than for the mass of society. The worship of Apollo is the recognition of the beneficial action of the sun, one of the essential elements of the life of the world. To adore Ceres is to recall to memory the productive force of the earth, one of the manifestations of universal power. It was in this manner that, at Alexandria, the polytheism of the masses united with philosophy.

India presents phenomena of the same order. An instance of initiation is to be found in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, an episode of the great poem entitled *Maha-Bharata*. Ardjouna, the warrior, is instructed in the true doctrine ; he learns that "the veritable devotee disdains all action," for action is illusory, because individual existence is an error, and because, in reality,

there is only one being who is all, who has no existence in himself, and who cannot distinguish himself from the world for the very reason that he is everything.

The same facts occur in modern India. At the close of the last century Mr. Wilkins said that the most learned Brahmins, while admitting in theory the doctrines which Ardjouna had been taught, "yield so completely to the prejudices of the vulgar that they outwardly follow all the ceremonies required by the Vedas, such as sacrifices, ablutions," &c., &c. Recently, M. Aug. Glardon has related the conversation of a priest with one of his disciples, of which the substance is much the same as that of Ardjouna with his pupil, much the same also as would be that of an idealist professor with a student to whom he would explain that beneath the appearances of liberty and will there exists nothing for the sage but the fatal development of idea, which fact need not necessarily prevent the enlightened individual from speaking and acting in ordinary life like the rest of the world.

The outward harmony between idealism and religion, therefore, conceals a profound opposition. This fictitious concordance can only be realized by the process we have already indicated, namely, the separation of mankind into two classes : on one side, the masses of the believing ; on the other, the chosen few of wisdom, "honest folks and the rabble that is not worthy of being enlightened," as Voltaire said. To unite these two completely distinct classes in the practice of the same worship and in thoughts apparently similar, it is necessary to have recourse to equivocation. This point requires a few moments' attention.

Intelligences are unequal, and it will ever be so. It follows that truth may be viewed under various aspects, and that the same words may and will always have a very different import, according to the diversity of culture of those who hear them. When there is concordance between the essential points, the truth stated remains the same, although conceived more or less purely, more or less completely ; the terms employed have a different bearing, but there is no double

meaning. For instance, let us take the doctrine of the future life. The essential point of this doctrine is the permanence of personality after death, the exercise of justice and mercy beyond the limits of this life. Let us suppose a man possessing a strong and simple imagination who will take in their literal sense the descriptions of Dante in his "*Divine Comedy*," and another man with a less ardent imagination who knows that these representations and all others of the same order are mere symbols of a certain reality, that of a justice to come, but the precise manifestation of which is unknown to us; these two individuals will be agreed upon a vital truth, and their conception of it, though not exactly the same, will not be fundamentally different. It will be otherwise if one of them professes idealism, and understands its consequences. According to this doctrine, the individual having no existence, properly so-called, has no permanent existence. If the question be put to the idealist, "Do you believe in immortality?" he will answer, yes. But if he explains his affirmation to men whom he considers capable of understanding him, he will say that immortality, such as he admits it, is the permanence of the effects produced in the world by the action of each particular individual, or the permanence of the substance of the soul, which, after death, is engulfed in the universal whole, and thus escapes the personal consequences of its actions. He believes neither in the continuity of individual life nor in future justice; it is, consequently, obvious that he denies, not merely a certain representation of the future life, but future life itself, in its essential elements. We have here, therefore, under identity of expression, not one and the same truth viewed at various depths, but two contradictory affirmations; this is equivocation. Many examples of this mode of reasoning may be found in the works of our modern writers. To say, for instance, on the occasion of the death of an illustrious poet, "He has entered immortality," is to utter words which may mean very different and often very opposite things from those who believe in the survival of the soul and for those who admit no other immortality than that of human glory.

That is a phenomenon of modern civilization which cannot long continue successful. At a period when manuscripts were costly and reading was the privilege of a few, such a state of things could easily subsist ; but it is not so in our age of printing and schools. It is now utterly impossible to keep up in the minds of the masses the beliefs which those who pretend to govern their thoughts do not share. Equivocation is the first cousin of falsehood and the mother of hypocrisy, and nothing can be more fatal to the faith of the people than the want of sincerity on the part of their leaders. We shall not again revert to the condition of India and Greece ; the fictitious union of idealism and religion is an impossibility ; their opposition will necessarily manifest itself more and more openly in the sight of all.

The false accordance of idealism with religion by means of equivocation has never met with much favour in the modern world. But a direction of thought analogous to that of idealism, whether it proceeds directly from that system or flows into it from another source, has altered the religious teaching in another way. This line of thought leads to the fatalism of the Mohammedans, and to the absolute predestination taught by some of our modern theologians. This fatalism, or absolute determinism, irreconcilable as it is with the ideas of the liberty, responsibility, and sin of the creature, is not taught in the original documents either of the religion of the Koran or of that of the Gospel, unless indeed the clear and general signification of these documents be completely altered for the benefit of a few doubtful passages, which, taken in the sense of the suppression of the foundations of the moral order, would be in contradiction with the whole of which they form a part. But this doctrine, although it cannot legitimately be excluded from the original texts, and although its upholders refuse to accept its natural consequences, has taken its place in the development of thought. This religious fatalism is, in reality, idealism, if it means that God Himself is subordinate to an eternal plan over which He has no control and which He simply realizes. In this case, were it even admitted that the principle of the universe

is self-conscious, liberty would disappear, since this principle would become the necessary agent of the realization of the idea. If the plan of the universe is considered as the free production of the Supreme Will, but bearing in all its parts a character of necessity, then the sovereignty of God is maintained; this is no longer absolute idealism, but the consequences of the doctrine remain the same. In fact, if the universe is the development of an absolutely fixed and fatal plan as regards the creature, this plan becomes, in so far as the creature alone is concerned, the cause of all that exists. It is a sort of idealism which may be termed *infra-divine*, and the moral order disappears as well as in the hypothesis of absolute idealism. If all things are absolutely determined, all things are alike necessary; there is no more good or evil; the moral law, sin, the sentiment of repentance, the promise of salvation, all disappear together; the wave of an idealistic theology has swept religion away. The harmony between fatalism and faith is illusory, as well as the harmony between pantheism and idolatry; it is the artificial and forced reunion of elements which, by their own nature, ever tend to separate and to manifest their essential opposition.

There are, therefore, two systems of philosophy, materialism and idealism, which are contrary to religion, the one in so evident a manner that no serious attempt has ever been made to conciliate them, the other in so real a manner that their union has never been more than apparent. These two doctrines having hitherto held the foremost rank in the development of thought, this fact has afforded substantial reasons for the affirmation of the historical antagonism between philosophy and religion. The clamours of the eighteenth century were merely high-sounding prejudices, since the greatest thinkers of the previous century had been personally Christians. But it is easy to show that, for instance, in the case of Bacon and of Leibnitz, the scientific direction of the beliefs of these writers was not in accordance with faith, since Bacon, without his belief, is in reality a materialist, and since the genius of Leibnitz has sustained an unequal struggle with the fatalism inferred in his conception

of the universe. Many an occasion has there been to repeat the warning of the Apostle, who having met at Athens with Stoics and Epicureans,¹ wrote to the Colossians, "Take heed lest there shall be any one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy."² The Apostle will not have us be children in mind,³ but he states, and history with him, that men had not found God by their wisdom, and had attached themselves to systems which alienated them from Him.⁴

The opposition between the two great currents of philosophy and religious faith is an undeniable fact. But that it is a fact does not necessarily imply that it is right. Materialism and idealism are not the whole of philosophy. On the contrary, these two doctrines are vicious if, as I believe, they are powerless to solve the problem of the universe. Spiritualism, which alone can solve it, is the only doctrine that can concord with religious faith, of which it has ever been the intellectual expression in the Christian world. If it be so, philosophy which develops in accordance with its own laws, tends to a solution which renders harmony with religion possible. That is why the promoter of positivism, Auguste Comte, has given a proof of real sagacity by prescribing alike all metaphysical research and religious beliefs. In the eighteenth century men opposed philosophy to religion; Comte opposes positivism to philosophy, in its generally understood acceptation, and to religion as well.⁵ He has acted wisely from his point of view. Atheism being for him an incontestable dogma, it was necessary that he should turn away his adepts from an order of research which is always likely to lead to God.

EDWARD NAVILLE.

¹ Acts xvii. 18.

² Col. ii. 8.

³ I Cor. xiv. 20.

⁴ I Cor. i. 21.

⁵ Auguste Comte has exposed his doctrine under the title of *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, but he expressly declares in the preface of his work that he uses the term philosophy in a different sense than that generally given to it. By this word he designates the science which treats of "the co-ordination of observed facts," to the exclusion of the study of causes.

A PARAPHRASTIC ANALYSIS OF HOSEA.

I. FORMAL AND TITULAR INTRODUCTION TO THE PROPHECY.

Hosea prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and the contemporary reign of Jeroboam II.

II. DIRECTIONS FROM GOD TO HOSEA TO PERFORM CERTAIN SYMBOLIC ACTIONS SIGNIFICANT OF COMING NATIONAL JUDGMENTS—concerning—

The wife of whoredoms he is to take.

In obedience to this order he *marries Gomer, daughter of Diblaim.*

[The names of the children of this marriage typify the approaching judgments upon Israel for their idolatry.]

The names to be given to the offspring of this marriage.

1st son, Jezreel, "*I will avenge the blood of Jezreel.*"

Daughter, Lo-Ruhamah, "*I will no more have mercy.*"

Israel is to be carried away into captivity, but Judah is (for the present, at least) to be delivered from this coming judgment.

2nd son, Lo-Ammi, "*Not My people,*" &c.

III. ASSURANCE OF THE FUTURE RESTORATION OF BOTH ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

Despite the diminution of the numbers of the Children of Israel, by reason of their captivity, a remnant shall be saved, which shall *marvellously increase*; despite the apparently hopeless disunion of the two sister-kingdoms, yet they shall be hereafter perfectly *united under one head*; and despite their approaching national degradation, yet they shall *ultimately triumph upon the plain of Jezreel*, the scene of their Transgression and their Punishment (cf. Rom. ix. 26).

IV. EXHORTATION FROM GOD TO ISRAEL TO REPENT FOR FEAR OF HIS JUDGMENTS.

Let them in the fear of God remind one another of their

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former names of <i>Ammi</i> ("My people") and <i>Ruhamah</i> ("I will have mercy"). Let them on remembrance of their iniquities humble themselves, and plead earnestly with the God of Jacob, <i>recalling to Him the ancient bestowal of their new name Israel, when they were married to God</i> ; otherwise they <i>shall be stripped of all their privileges, and thirst unto death</i> for the presence and the righteousness of God (cf. Amos viii. 11).	ii.	1-3
V. DECLARATION OF GOD'S DETERMINATION TO SHOW ISRAEL NO MERCY ON TWO GROUNDS.		
Because of their hereditary and personal idolatry.		4
Because of their shameful and shameless lack of repentance.		5
VI. FURTHER DECLARATION OF GOD'S DETERMINATION TO AFFLICT ISRAEL.		
The people shall not be allowed to become as fully and permanently idolatrous as they desire, and in the end shall return in penitence to God, <i>recognizing His hand in their privileges</i> , which they have hitherto failed to do.		6-8
Details of this affliction.		
The fruits of the earth shall not yield their increase.		9
The false gods of heathendom shall prove of no assistance.		10
The feasts shall be discontinued, and Israel shall be a stranger to joy.		11
The very vineyards and fig-trees (symbols of joy and sustenance) shall be converted into forests tenanted by wild beasts.		12
Leanness shall be sent into Israel's soul, filled with the fruit of its own ways.		13
VII. DECLARATION OF GOD'S DETERMINATION TO SHOW ISRAEL MERCY.		
Method by which this shall become possible.		
In the land of captivity, whither Israel shall be carried, the people shall listen to the voice of God, and <i>His words shall reach their hearts</i> , so that that land, which shall be as a <i>valley of Achor</i> (or <i>tribulation</i>), shall prove to be a <i>door by which hope shall enter</i> . Thence shall Israel return to the fruitful plains of her own land.		14, 15
Detailed results of God's dealings with Israel.		
They shall no more serve idols.		16, 17
They shall enter upon undisturbed peace.		18

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They shall be re-betrothed to God by a new and an everlasting covenant, and shall obtain a true knowledge of Jehovah.		19, 20
They shall no longer offer prayers in vain.		21, 22
They shall be planted afresh in the earth as a true, increasing nation of the Lord's, and shall exchange the present ominously prophetic names given to the prophet's children for their opposites, <i>Lo-Ammi becoming Ammi (My people), and Lo-Ruhama becoming Ruhama (Favoured).</i>		23
VIII. DIRECTIONS FROM GOD TO HOSEA TO PERFORM A FURTHER SYMBOLIC ACTION AND ITS FULFILMENT—concerning—		
His marriage with an adulteress.		
In obedience to this order, the prophet <i>acquires such a woman as his wife</i> , and signifies to her that he will keep her <i>in a state of detention to reform and train her as a faithful wife.</i>	iii.	1-3
IX. EXPLANATION OF THIS SYMBOLIC ACTION OF HOSEA'S.		
The absence of all intercourse between the woman and her former friends, and between Hosea and his wife, signifies not only that Israel will be debarred from all idolatry, but that <i>God Himself will withdraw Himself for long from His people.</i>		4
X. ASSURANCE OF THE FUTURE CONVERSION OF ISRAEL.		
<i>At the end of the days (i.e., in the period commencing with Messiah's coming) Israel shall return with fear and trembling to Jehovah their God.</i>		5
XI. CONDEMNATION BY GOD OF THE PEOPLE, PRIESTS, AND PROPHETS OF ISRAEL FOR THEIR INIQUITY.		
<i>Truth and mercy and recognition of God are unknown.</i>	iv.	1
The land is polluted with <i>the worst of crimes.</i>		2
The natural issue of this is <i>utter and universal misery.</i>		3
Reproof of a people and priesthood knowing each other godless is useless.		4
Prophets and people shall stumble and fall continually.		5
Rejection and neglect of God are destroying Israel by <i>causing God to reject and forget them.</i> With the increase of their prosperity their sin increased, therefore <i>shall their glory be turned into shame.</i>		6, 7
The priests greedily eat the sin-offerings of the people, and <i>desire them to transgress yet more</i> , in order that <i>the offerings may increase.</i> Priests and people alike in sin shall be <i>alike in punishment.</i>		8, 9

	CHAP.	VER.
As fulness of bread and drunkenness have issued in idolatry and impurity, so Israel shall be left by God to scarcity of food and diminution of their numbers.		10, 11
A people <i>so utterly foolish</i> as to ask advice from gods of their own construction, a people <i>so utterly wicked</i> as to have completely forsaken the living God for idols, a people <i>so entirely bereft of understanding</i> as these things indicate, God <i>can no longer restrain by punishment</i> ; they must be left to themselves <i>to fall into destruction</i> .		12-14
Incidental caution to Judah not to offend like Israel.		
Let them not visit the idolatrous centres of Gilgal and Bethaven in the sister kingdom.		15
[The northern Gilgal is here meant, the seat of an idolatrous worship, not that in the valley of the Jordan. By Bethaven (house of idols), Bethel is intended to be understood (cf. Amos iv. 4; v. 5).]		
As for libertine Israel, God will give them <i>the liberty of dispersion</i> , and scattering among the nations, for they are <i>indissolubly united to their idols</i> .		16, 17
Drunkenness and licentiousness go hand in hand even with their princes. <i>The tempest of destruction has them in its grasp</i> , and their idol sacrifices shall have no power to deliver them.		18, 19
XII. DECLARATION OF GOD'S COMING JUDGMENTS AGAINST PRIESTS, PEOPLE, AND PRINCES.	v.	
Placed in a position of spiritual eminence, instead of discharging the functions of watchmen, they have proved <i>snare of iniquity</i> . Rulers and people so deeply versed in transgression shall be punished together.		1, 2
[The king's house mentioned in ver. 1 would be probably either that of Zechariah or that of Menahem.]		
God is well acquainted with Israel and their doings, but Israel is far off from God, having made a stranger of Him by idolatry, therefore He who is <i>their rightful Glory</i> shall witness <i>against them</i> in the destruction of their false glory by His judgments. <i>Judah</i> , having participated in Israel's sin, <i>shall share also in their fall</i> .		3-5
To seek Jehovah with sacrifices will be of no avail, for <i>He has withdrawn Himself</i> . Having faithlessly turned to idolatry,		

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the very <i>new-moon sacrificial feast</i> shall but increase their condemnation, and produce the ruin of those lands from which the sacrificial offerings were obtained.		6, 7
<i>Let the alarm of foreign invasion be given</i> in Judah from the signal-stations of Gibeah and Ramah; let the battle-cry be raised at Bethel, for Israel falls, and the wave of invasion approaches even to Judah, and breaks upon the border of Benjamin.		8, 9
[Bethaven, in ver. 8, is for Bethel. See iv. 15.]		
Judah has <i>removed the landmark</i> , even the landmark of God between Him and Baal, and has participated in the willing idolatry of Israel; <i>both, therefore, shall be broken and become a prey.</i>		10-12
The wickedness and foolishness of Ephraim and Judah in applying for human aid to stave off God's judgments.		
The application to Assyria for help shall be utterly fruitless. [Jareb=warrior, and indicates the King of Assyria.]		13
God will certainly punish His people. As a lion seizes on its prey, and bears it off, so will God <i>carry away the Israelites into inevitable captivity.</i>		14
He will also <i>hide Himself from them until, in their affliction, they eagerly seek His face.</i>		15
XIII. EXHORTATION FROM HOSEA TO THE PEOPLE TO RETURN TO JEHOVAH.	vi.	
God wounds only that He may subsequently heal.		1
He will certainly and speedily revive Israel.		2
A true, practical knowledge of the Lord will hasten <i>the dawn of the day of national salvation</i> , and the falling of the <i>refreshing showers of God's grace.</i>		3
XIV. GRIEF-STRICKEN UTTERANCE ON THE PART OF GOD OVER THE EVANESCENT RIGHTEOUSNESS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH; AND JUSTIFICATION OF HIMSELF FOR HIS JUDGMENTS.		
The fact that the righteousness of Ephraim and Judah is no more lasting than <i>morning cloud or early dew</i> is the reason of God's afflicting them so grievously, for <i>love of one's neighbour and knowledge of God</i> are of far more value in God's sight than the heartless <i>sacrifices and burnt offerings</i> of wicked men.		4-6

	CHAP.	VER
<p>But, following in the way of Adam, they have <i>transgressed God's covenant</i>. People and priests alike commit <i>murder and the worst abominations</i>. Israel is defiled with idolatry. Even Judah must be visited with judgment, that God may have in the end a ransomed and restored people.</p> <p>[Gilead, in ver. 8, probably signifies Israel east of the Jordan.]</p>		7-11
XV. EXPOSURE OF ISRAEL'S UTTER AND INCURABLE DEPRAVITY.	vii.	
<p>God's attempt to heal His sin-stricken people only discovered the deep-seated and serious nature of the malady. Sins of all kinds are practised by Israel, who foolishly imagine that God will <i>forget to take note</i> of their wickedness.</p> <p>Even the royal house inflames itself with drunkenness and the corruptions and impurities of idolatrous worship. One after another the kings fall, <i>yet no man calls unto God</i> (cf. 2 Kings xv. 10, 14, 25).</p>		I, 2 3-7
XVI. EXPOSURE OF ISRAEL'S FOOLISH AND UNWORTHY FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES.		
<p>Whereas Israel was to dwell alone among the nations (cf. Num. xxiii. 9), the people have <i>mingled with the heathen</i>, and learned their works. As a cake burned to worthlessness by the hot ashes which should have converted it into wholesome food, as one in whose silvery hair the frosts of many winters begin to make themselves apparent, so, though Israel thinks not of it, the body politic is ripening for destruction, and totters to its fall. <i>The glory of Israel</i> (i.e., Jehovah Himself. Cf. v. 5) <i>bears witness against them, but it is of no avail</i>.</p> <p>Like the unthinking birds of the air, they fly to Egypt and Assyria, and perceive not the net which God spreads for them, and in which they shall be infallibly caught, and dragged from their freedom and liberty into captivity and exile.</p> <p><i>Their flight from God is their destruction</i>. He would redeem them, but they <i>give Him the lie</i> by declaring He cannot and will not do so.</p> <p>When they have cried, they have not really cried to God. All their desire has been for abundance of corn and wine, without a thought of Him who giveth the increase; <i>their gratitude is rebellion</i>. Though God has given victory to their arms, yet <i>they think evil of Him</i>, and forsake Him.</p>		8-10 11-12 13 14, 15

	CHAP.	VER.
Israel <i>turns</i> , but <i>not upward</i> ; they are like a treacherous bow on which no dependence can be placed; therefore the defiance of their princes' tongues shall be punished <i>by their fall</i> , and <i>Egypt</i> , the source of their fancied security, <i>shall deride them in their ruin</i> (cf. Isa. xxx. 3-5).		16
XVII. PREDICTION OF IMPENDING JUDGMENT FOR THE APOSTASY OF ISRAEL.	viii.	
Let the prophet sound an alarm.		1 ^a
As with eagle-swoop, judgment descends upon sinful Israel.		1 ^b
In vain shall they cry, " <i>We, Israel, know Thee.</i> "		2
Israel (long untrue to their name) have no love for the good, therefore shall the foe pursue them without restraint.		3
<i>In the kings and princes</i> , whom they have set up without consulting Him, <i>in the idols of silver and gold</i> which they have made, God's people have renounced Him, and <i>in this they find their doom</i> .		4
<i>Bethel's calf</i> , so far from profiting the foolish people, only kindles God's anger to their destruction, and itself <i>shall be broken in pieces</i> .		5, 6
The destruction which they have sown for themselves they are now to reap. Famine or the presence of an enemy <i>shall devour the whole nation</i> . Already they are viewed with scorn and contempt by other peoples.		7, 8
The wanton wild ass is wise enough to retain its own liberty, but Ephraim madly and wickedly <i>forms alliance with Assyria and other heathen nations</i> ; therefore will God <i>bring them to those nations</i> —but for captivity and to that <i>king of princes</i> (i.e., the King of Assyria)—but that He may oppress them.		9, 10
[The King of Assyria boasted that his princes were all kings. Cf. Isa. x. 8.]		
The altars which Ephraim has multiplied throughout the land have been and are, in every sense, a cause of sin.		11
The directions of the sacred law, so <i>numerous</i> as to require careful study to master them, Ephraim has <i>utterly neglected and regarded as a strange thing</i> .		12
To have multiplied sacrifices instead of this is vain; in fact, theirs are <i>not sacrifices at all, but meals</i> . Unreconciled to God, He will visit upon the people their iniquity, <i>carrying them away into a land of bondage</i> . Forgetfulness of God has made		

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Israel build palaces and Judah fortified cities, but they shall be <i>destroyed by fire</i> (cf. 2 Kings xxv. 9).		13, 14
Let not Israel be deceived into indulging in a false security and a fictitious joy, prompted by the apparent external prosperity and fruitfulness of the land. They occupy a different position from the heathen, who, in such circumstances, might rejoice with unreflecting joy, but Israel <i>has been unfaithful to the God to whom they were betrothed</i> .	ix.	i
That corn and oil and wine shall not strengthen <i>their</i> heart, nor make <i>them</i> of a cheerful countenance, nor make glad <i>their</i> heart. These shall be harvested for their foes, for <i>they shall not be in their own land, but in the land of their captivity</i> , and instead of the pleasant fruits of <i>Jehovah's land</i> , they shall <i>eat that which is unclean</i> .		2, 3
To offer meat offerings and drink offerings to Jehovah <i>there</i> will be impossible when they shall be far away from His holy house.		4
The observation of a single feast day will be impossible; joy shall be unknown. The foreign land which they seek shall <i>prove their destruction</i> , and shall furnish them with <i>graves</i> ; the desolation of their own land shall be so utter and complete, that <i>nettles shall cover their most prized possessions, and thorns shall grow in their houses</i> .		5, 6
[<i>Egypt</i> and <i>Memphis</i> are here representative, not literal. Cf. ver. 3.]		
At last Israel shall recognize the judgments of God, and shall discover that the prophets were false prophets, and the seers misled. <i>There was one true prophet (i.e., Hosea) watching Ephraim with God</i> ; but as for the false prophets, which the people had trusted, they have but proved Israel's destruction, and the <i>temple itself has been made a trap</i> . Israel is sunk in depravity to the level of the <i>days of Gibeah</i> (cf. Judges xix.). For this, judgment comes upon them.		7-9
XVIII. LAMENTATION OF GOD OVER THE DEGENERACY OF ISRAEL.		
When God brought His people out of Egypt, they were in His sight like refreshing grapes to the thirsty traveller, or like the first ripe figs; but alas! God's pleasure in them was short-		

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lived, for they soon <i>corrupted themselves at Baal-Peor</i> , and became abominable like the god they loved.		10
Fruitful Ephraim shall become fruitless ; their numbers shall be diminished and their youth destroyed.		11, 12
The nation might have been for wealth and security <i>another Tyre</i> , but now fathers shall beget sons <i>but for the slaughter</i> .		13
Interpolation of prayer by Hosea.		
<i>May wives be childless !</i>		14
A centre of their wickedness is Gilgal. For their manifold wickedness Israel shall be deprived of fellowship with God and the covenant blessings of His love.		15
<i>Root and branch Ephraim is smitten and is doomed.</i>		16
Interpolation of God's judicial sentence by Hosea.		
<i>Rejected of God, Israel shall be scattered among the nations.</i>		17
Like a vine which has set grapes, but dropped them before they were ripe, Israel has <i>brought no fruit of righteousness to perfection</i> . Multiplication of population and prosperity has resulted only in <i>increased idolatry</i> . They must now atone for the deceitfulness of their heart in the judgments of God.		
	X.	1, 2
At last they will confess that they <i>have no king</i> , having forsaken Jehovah, and their self-chosen king being <i>powerless to help them</i> . They have uttered false words and oaths, and made treaties with the nations, so that <i>judgment springs up on every side like bitter hemlock in ground well prepared</i> .		3, 4
The inhabitants of Samaria tremble for the <i>safety of the golden calf</i> . And well may they and its priests mourn over it, for <i>its glory is departed</i> ; it shall be carried as spoil to the King of Assyria ; Israel shall be overwhelmed with shame.		5, 6
Samaria is destroyed, and <i>her king like a splinter on the water</i> , which is swept away and leaves no trace behind. The buildings of Bethel shall be utterly destroyed, <i>thorns and thistles shall grow on the altars</i> , and in terror at the coming judgments the people <i>shall call upon the mountains to cover them, and the hills to fall upon them</i> .		7, 8
Israel has continued in the sin of the Benjamites at Gibeah ever since that day (see Judges xix. seq., cf. chap. ix. 9). The war then well nigh exterminated that tribe, but the ten tribes have lived on in like sin without being destroyed.		9

God wills that they shall be punished *by the gathering of the heathen against them*, while they stand yoked with double sin (*i.e.*, of forsaking God and following idols).

Like the cow that treadeth out the corn, Ephraim has been willing to serve God slightly when the reward was immediate and abundant, but God is about to *subdue the grace of her haughty neck*, and set a rider upon her. *Judah shall yet labour hard* at turning up the soil for a future spiritual harvest, and *Israel shall share in the work*.

Interpolation of exhortation from Hosea to Israel to reform.

Let them *sow the spiritual seed of righteousness*, and *reap in lovingkindness*; let them enter upon a new course of life, till Jehovah *rain righteousness on the nation*. All their ploughing has been for wickedness; all their reaping for crime; the fruit which they have eaten has been lies, because they trusted *in their own devices, and in their own might*. Of no avail will be their fancied strength in face of the *tumult that is to arise against them*, when such inhuman cruelty shall be witnessed as was seen in the *destruction of Betharbel*. This shall be the end of the idolatry of Bethel: in the apparent dawning of prosperity *the monarchy of Israel shall be utterly destroyed*.

[Nothing is known of the destruction of Betharbel.]

In the early days of Israel's history that people was the *chosen object of God's love*. With base apostasy did they requite this affection, for though summoned by God's prophets, they deliberately forsook those holy messengers and *plunged into idolatry*.

Yet *as a father teaches his little son to walk*; as a parent guides a child *in leading strings*; as a good man is merciful to his beast, *shifting the yoke back* that the animal may comfortably eat; thus, even thus, has *God dealt lovingly and gently with His people*, but they *recognized not His hand*.

Not to Egypt shall they return, but to a worse bondage—that of *Assyria* shall they go—*because they would not return to God*.

In a deadly circle shall the sword sweep round their cities. The bolts and bars of all fortified towns shall be broken, and their inhabitants become a prey. This is the end of their

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10

11

12-15

xi. 1, 2

3, 4

5

	CHAP.	VER.
counsels, their counsels which made them bent upon back-sliding from God, for <i>though summoned upwards by the prophets, yet they would not rise.</i>		6, 7
<i>How could God give up Ephraim, or destroy Israel as the cities of the plain!</i> All His wrath has vanished before His compassion. He will not utterly destroy Ephraim; nor will His feelings change, since <i>He is not man, but God, the Holy One in the midst of Israel</i> , whose wrath shall not burn like fire.		8, 9
Israel <i>shall follow Jehovah</i> , and not idols; shall follow Jehovah <i>from the land of their exile; shall fly like trembling doves</i> from the scenes of their bondage <i>to their own land.</i>		10, 11
XIX. FINAL DEMONSTRATION OF ISRAEL'S APOSTASY AND GOD'S FIDELITY.		
<i>Ephraim</i> deceitfully and hypocritically <i>has professed to serve God</i> under the guise of idolatrous images. <i>Judah</i> also is <i>unbridled against God and against the faithful Holy One.</i>		12
Ephraim endeavours to find satisfaction in that which is as vain and empty as the east wind; lying and desolation are continually on the increase; <i>a treaty is struck with Assyria, and a present of oil sent down into Egypt</i> (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 3).	xii.	1
Jehovah has a controversy to decide with Judah, and a visitation to effect upon Jacob. Israel must be punished according to their works.		2
Interpolation by Hosea exhorting Israel to imitate their great ancestor.		
Their father Jacob strove hard for his birthright <i>even before birth</i> ; afterwards he wrestled with God Himself, <i>weeping and praying to the Angel</i> (cf. Gen. xxxii. 24, seq.). <i>At Bethel Jehovah, God of Hosts, spake to Jacob and to Israel through him</i> (cf. Gen. xxxv. 9-15). " <i>Jehovah</i> " is <i>His memorial</i> (cf. Exod. iii. 15; vi. 3). Let them, then, turn consistently and continually to their God.		3-6
Ephraim resembles <i>a cunning and dishonest merchant</i> , declaring that all the riches which they have acquired have been obtained by no wrong-doing which can be characterized as sin.		7, 8
Yet it is <i>Jehovah their God</i> who has <i>prospered them</i> from their deliverance <i>from Egypt until now</i> . Therefore (because they know not this) they shall <i>dwell in booths in the desert</i> of their affliction, and recall in sadness God's sheltering care. He has		
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proved Himself to be the God of Israel by the *continual ministry of prophets*.

Worthless Gilead shall indeed become *worth naught*, and as for the *altars of Gilgal*, they shall become *heaps of stones*.

What was Jacob, and what was his life? *A hireling keeper of sheep, he served for a wife*. But Jehovah brought Israel out of Egypt by a prophet, and by a prophet did He tend them.

Yet Israel has bitterly incensed their Lord; therefore *their blood-guiltiness shall not be removed, and their dishonour of God shall be repaid*.

There was a time when the word of Ephraim struck terror into those that heard it, then he *exalted himself in Israel*; but in the day when he commenced to follow Baal, Ephraim *began to die*. Yet now they continue in sin, making idols and worshipping gods of their own conception and workmanship. The shibboleth of their sacrificers is, "*Kiss the calves*."

Their destruction, therefore, shall be swift *as the passing of morning cloud or early dew*, and resistless *as chaff or smoke driven before the wind*.

Yet how unchangeable is Jehovah! Their God in Egypt, He is God still. *They shall know none like Him*. Nay, how can they, seeing there is *beside Him no Saviour*? *He knew them in the burning, thirsty desert*.

But fulness of bread and prosperity made Israel *proud and forgetful of its God*. Therefore to this overfatted flock God shall be as a *ravens lion or a bear robbed of her cubs*.

It is the destruction of Israel that they set themselves *against God their Help and King*. Where can they find *king or judge* to help their cities in distress? *In anger God gives them kings, and in anger He takes them away*.

Ephraim's iniquity, so far from being overlooked by God, is, as it were, *bound up for preservation*. *Violent agony*, calamitous suffering, even as a woman's travail-pangs, *shall seize upon Ephraim*. Seize upon him they must, for like a misguided child that comes not to the place of birth at the right time, Ephraim delays his conversion to God.

From the power of the grave will God ransom His people, and from death will He redeem them. It shall be asked, Where any longer are the plagues of death, where the destruction of the grave? *Of this His set purpose God will by no means*

CHAP.	VER.
	9, 10
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	12, 13
	14
xiii.	
	1, 2
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	4, 5
	6-8
	9-11
	12, 13

repent; the promise of redemption will certainly stand firm. *Ephraim shall be fruitful among his brethren*, yet like a devastating east wind shall come the foe [Assyria], *a death to all joy and a spoiler of all treasures*.

The punishment of Samaria for rebellion against God shall be destruction by the sword, *even women and children finding horrible deaths*.

Summons to Israel by Hosea to confess their guilt and return to God.

Let Israel return to Jehovah, not with vain sacrifices, but *with words of heartfelt contrition*; and, pleading for forgiveness, let the prayers of their lips be as the finest animal sacrifices. Let them *renounce all hope in Assyria and in the strength of horses* [whether of Egypt or their own. Cf. Isa. xxi. 1]. Let them *no more address the work of their hands as "God,"* for the Lord is a *God of mercy and compassion*.

Assurance to Israel by God of His gracious forgiveness and ready lovingkindness.

God *will heal* the injuries resulting from Israel's apostasy from Him; He *will love them spontaneously* since His anger vanishes on repentance.

Refreshing Israel like the dew, God's people shall be passing fair to look upon, *even as the lily* [or *crimson anemone*]. Nor shall they possess fairness only, but also firmness, being settled and grounded in their land, *even as Mount Lebanon. As an olive and a cedar tree shall they flourish*.

Those who dwell beneath Israel's shadow shall be vigorous as corn, and pleasant as the blossom of the vine, and glorious as the grape-juice itself.

In that day *Ephraim shall ask*, "*What have I further with the idols?*" God hears and looks upon Israel. God it is who is the true "*tree of life*" to His people: He alone affords the *fruits of salvation*.

XX. EPILOGUE TO THE PROPHECY.

It is the wise who shall understand what has been written, the prudent that shall know it. Straight are the ways of Jehovah: in them the righteous walk, but the rebellious stumble.

MARCUS E. W. JOHNSON.

CHAP. VER.

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xiv. 1-3

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JOHN STUART MILL AND CHRISTIANITY.

II.

IN a previous paper it was sought to exhibit Mr. Mill on his side of affinity with Christianity. Many isolated passages might have been quoted from his lesser writings, letting in sidelights, often interesting, on his views of persons and matters Biblical. It is a striking remark which he makes in his *Representative Government*, "One person with a belief is a social power equal to ninety and nine who have only interests"; and the illustration he uses is equally striking—"On the day when the proto-martyr was stoned to death at Jerusalem, while he who was to be the Apostle of the Gentiles stood by 'consenting unto his death,' would any one have supposed that the party of that stoned man were there and then the strongest power in society? And has not the event proved that they were? because theirs was the most powerful of then existing beliefs."¹ It is in the same book that he refers to that "inestimably precious unorganized institution" of the Jews—"the Order (if it may be so termed) of Prophets"—and adopts a remark "of a distinguished Hebrew, M. Salvador, that the Prophets were, in Church and State, the equivalent of the modern liberty of the press."² Reference might be made again to his exalted estimate of the precepts and doctrines of Christ in the essay on "Liberty," though here he falls behind his later utterances in that he supposes that "many essential elements of the highest morality are among the things which are not provided for, nor intended to be provided for, in the recorded deliverances of the Founder of Christianity";³ a view to which no reference is made in the eulogistic estimate of Christ in the essay on "Theism."

¹ P. 6.

² P. 16.

³ Pp. 91-92.

From exposition we pass in the present paper to criticism. If there is much in Mr. Mill's teaching that attracts our sympathy, there is necessarily much also which can only be regarded as antagonistic to the complete Christian view. And though, as formerly remarked, Mr. Mill's influence in recent years seems greatly on the wane, his positions are still sufficiently typical to entitle them to serious consideration. Here, first of all, the remark must be hazarded that, with all his distinction as an expounder of logical theory, Mr. Mill cannot be looked upon as pre-eminently a logical thinker. The inconsistencies between his various standpoints and doctrines are, to any one who cares to judge them strictly, enormous. His philosophy is full of paradoxes. Even on subjects non-metaphysical, the contradictions and anomalies into which he falls fill one with astonishment. A few examples of this

ILLOGICALNESS

may prepare us for judging better of the value of his dicta in some of his arguments against Christianity. As a philosopher, Mr. Mill's position was not essentially different from Hume's, and had he carried his principles out as that thinker did, he would have been a sceptic as Hume was, and not an earnest Positivist. His doctrine was one which theoretically resolved all reality into sensations and association of sensations. Independent entities, whether of mind or of matter, had no place in his system. Logically carried out, this view strikes at the root of all knowledge beyond that of the immediate experience, and lands us, as Hume showed, in philosophical scepticism. It removes from us God, self, and freedom, and in so doing destroys the foundations both of morals and of religion. Yet we have seen Mill, in his three posthumous essays, gravely discussing the question of theism, and arriving at certain positive conclusions in regard to it. We find him arguing for the permanency and separate existence of the soul—"the thinking and conscious principle"—not only during life, but after death. We find him setting up Matter and Force as self-existent entities outside of the Deity, though, on his

own principles, Matter has no existence apart from the minds apprehending it, and Force has no real existence of any kind, causation being resolved by him into simple antecedence and consequence, and the existence of any casual nexus being denied. The idea of some more intimate connection, of some peculiar tie, or mysterious constraint exercised by the antecedent over the consequent is, he tells us in the *Logic*,¹ a delusion which the reason repudiates. There is no such compulsion exercised ; causes do not draw their effects after them by a mystical tie. Yet here, in the essay on "Theism," we find, as we have seen, Force reappearing—nay, hypostatized, and exhibited as a separate existence, co-eternal with God. These philosophical premises of Mr. Mill come into conflict with his remaining positions in a myriad of other ways. This writer, who has no choice but to be a Necessitarian, is yet an enthusiastic advocate of "Liberty." In his essay on that subject he claims for every man the right to think and act for himself, uninfluenced by authority or the opinions of others ; while in the essay on "The Utility of Religion" his thesis is that the benefits at present got from religion might all be secured by a system of rules, if only sufficiently reinforced by authority, education, and social opinion. In the sphere of morals, Mr. Mill's inconsistencies of opinion are not less perplexing. Happiness is the end of action—the test and criterion of what constitutes virtue—yet happiness must not be made the end, but virtue is to be loved and followed after for its own sake ; nor are we at liberty to seek our own happiness, but only the happiness of others. Pleasure is the criterion, yet a Socrates dissatisfied is better than a fool satisfied ; and so paramount and indefeasible are the claims of virtue, that Mr. Mill conceives it would be his duty to go to the place of woe rather than submit to what his moral sense declared to be wrong. In another essay—that on "Nature"—Mr. Mill maintains that no intelligible sense can be attached to the phrase "follow Nature" as a guide in morals ; yet in his *Utilitarianism* he says : "No reason can be given

¹ Bk. III., Chap. v.

why the general happiness is desirable, except that each person, so far as he believes it to be attainable, desires his own happiness,"¹ which is surely but another way of saying that he adopts this end, because it is the end that Nature dictates. As a last example, we may refer to his view that Nature—in which in this connection must be included the course of history—affords no evidence of moral attributes, save only of benevolence, in the Creator ; while in nearly the last words of his essay he proclaims that Good is gradually gaining ground over Evil, "yet gaining it so visibly at considerable intervals as to promise the very distant but not uncertain final victory of Good."²

Reverting again to those positions of Mr. Mill which bear directly on Christianity, we have to touch critically on his views of Theism, of the evidences of Revelation, and of the claims of Christ. Mr. Mill's

THEISTIC POSITIONS

were outlined with sufficient distinctness in the last paper. The only argument to which he allows any weight in proof of the existence of God is the argument from design in Nature, and this, he grants, yields a balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence. But this is accompanied by the view that the Creator's power cannot be regarded as unlimited, and that Matter and Force are in all probability independently existing realities, with the intractableness of which the Creator had to contend in the execution of His purposes. Only on this supposition, he thinks, can the evil and imperfection of the world be reconciled with the goodness of the Creator—either that, or there is defect also in his knowledge.

There are two questions here : first, Is it so clear that the existing arrangements of the universe are irreconcilable with infinite power, wisdom, and goodness in its Author ? and second, Is the counter-hypothesis of Mr. Mill—one which is tending to be revived by others besides him—philosophically tenable ? On what ground, we ask first, does Mr. Mill deny omnipotence to the Creator ? One argument which he uses

¹ P. 52.

² *Three Essays*, p. 256.

is so extraordinary of its kind that we almost hesitate to delay upon it. The very existence of design, he holds, proves limitation of power. To use means to attain an end implies absence of omnipotence, for omnipotence is able to attain its ends without means. Was ever such reasoning heard before? It is practically equivalent to saying that omnipotence could not create a finite world at all; for if a finite world is to be created, there must be adaptation of means to ends in its arrangements. "Infinite power and wisdom," as an able writer has pointed out, "must necessarily work under limitations when they originate and control finite things; but the limitations are not in the infinite power and wisdom themselves, they are in their operations and effects."¹ The limitation asserted, therefore, must be proved, if provable at all, from the character of the effects; and here Mr. Mill offers us the alternative that either the Creator is limited in power, or He is limited in benevolence and justice; for the evils of the world are such, he thinks, that only the most unblushing jesuitry can reconcile their existence with the assumption of a Being *at once* all powerful and all-good. We admit the difficulty which Mr. Mill urges. The existence of natural and moral evil is a problem which it is difficult to find a solution for on the assumption of an all-wise, all-good God. It is one thing, however, to say that we cannot see fully how certain things are to be reconciled with the character and government of God, and an immense step beyond to say that they *cannot* be reconciled. Even without taking into account what Mr. Mill ignores—that much physical pain and evil in the world have relation to a state of sin—it seems a very daring thing to say that in the far-reaching plans of an infinite mind there can be no justification of such a fact as physical suffering, for it is this aspect that Mr. Mill chiefly insists on. To our mind, it is the existence of moral evil which constitutes by far the greater difficulty. If all the pain and sorrow which have their origin directly or indirectly in human sin, or imprudence, or folly could be eliminated from the world,

¹ Flint, on *Theism*.

the problem would be reduced to manageable dimensions indeed. Mr. Mill may then ask, Why does God permit sin? That question we cannot answer, and do not need to answer. Sin originates in the will of the creature, and God's relation to it is that of permission and subsequent control—in the case of humanity, of gracious interposition in redemption—and this with a view to ends which, as infinite wisdom beheld them, made this particular plan of government the wisest and the best. Is Mr. Mill in a position to criticize it? Would he not require to be in the position of the infinite intelligence that devised it before he could do so satisfactorily?

In his zeal to prove that Nature exhibits no trace or shadow of moral attributes in the Creator, save only, in a limited degree, of benevolence, Mr. Mill must be held guilty of gross exaggeration. Verily, the prophets and teachers of our race have been widely astray, if there are not discernible any traces of a moral government of the world. We had thought it was a commonplace that a life of vice entailed upon the transgressor physical penalties, not to speak of mental, moral, and social penalties; we had thought there was truth in the statement that righteousness exalteth a nation, and that vice as invariably corrupts and destroys it; we had believed Butler when he taught that "in the natural course of things, virtue as such is actually rewarded, and vice as such is punished,"¹ and Matthew Arnold when he assured us that the one thing "verifiable" in nature and history is that there is "a Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." This is what human beings as yet generally believe, and we are not convinced that Mr. Mill has shown any good reasons to the contrary.

Mr. Mill, however, while holding that we have no positive grounds for attributing moral perfection to the Creator, yet thinks, as we formerly saw, that we do well to cherish belief in His infinite wisdom and goodness. What men do believe in, he imagines, is the idea of excellence in their own minds, which, despite appearances, they persist in regarding as

¹ *Analogy*, Part I., Chap. iii.

embodied in the Divine Being. But the question arises regarding this ideal, Whence came it? Is it a mere fancy, a subjective creation, the factitious product of association and custom, having no authority beyond what association and custom give it? If so, by what right does Mr. Mill apply it as a standard to the Divine Being, and presume to judge Him by it at all? If, on the other hand, this ethical ideal represents something absolute and unconditioned, something valid for all moral beings, therefore for Deity Himself, then, plainly, we cannot refuse to accept the testimony which comes from it to the character of Deity. However its origin is conceived, it must be recognized that man has been so constituted by his Creator as to arrive at the knowledge of it, and to approve of it when he does know it. How, then, can the conclusion be avoided that the Creator also entertains this ideal of excellence, and regulates His action according to its laws? And this, in another form, is simply the moral argument, which Mr. Mill rejects. The truth is, that great as is the difficulty of the existence of moral and natural evil on the assumption of an infinitely wise and good Creator, the problem would not be lightened, but would be unspeakably darker and more difficult, if we could not believe that there was perfect wisdom and goodness behind, and could not trust in it for an ultimate solution. Nor is the issue uncertain. Mr. Mill, as we have seen, is firm in his conviction that Good is gaining ground over Evil—gaining it so visibly as “to promise the very distant but not uncertain final victory of Good.” Yet he thinks there is no evidence of moral government!

A few words may suffice to dispose of Mr. Mill's counter-hypothesis

OF DUALISM.

Matter and Force, he thinks, are eternally subsisting, independent realities, by which the Creator is conditioned and hampered in His work. Hence the imperfections of the visible universe. This is not quite the old Platonic or Aristotelian dualism, for there Matter was simply a formless

substratum, a naked *hyle*, without qualities or properties of any kind. In Mr. Mill's view, both Matter and Force have eternally existed, with all the properties and laws which at present belong to them, "working together and fitting into each other." Such a supposition is philosophically so untenable that it is difficult to understand how a mind of the acuteness of Mr. Mill's could for a moment entertain it. Not to speak of the objection which may be taken to all dualism, that it supposes two absolutes in the universe, perfectly unrelated to each other, yet capable of entering into relation ; it may be pointed out that Mill's theory supposes the existence, not of the two absolutes alone, but of millions and millions of absolutes ; for every separate atom of matter is a distinct absolute ; yet somehow these absolutes all exist in relation to each other, have properties which have reference to each other, and are capable of "working together, and of fitting into each other"—a fact of which no explanation is afforded. But there is a yet more conclusive answer to this hypothesis on Mr. Mill's own principles. What, on the face of it, could be more crude than the idea of a creator working from without on a material already endowed with all manner of laws and properties—a determinate, definite material—which yet he had no hand in producing ? Mill grants the existence of design in Nature. He infers intelligence from the existence of order and final cause. But is not this definite constitution of matter—these orderly relations which subsist between the elements, these laws of number, proportion, measure, size, weight, which belong to them, their reciprocal actions and adaptations, themselves so many proofs of an intelligible constitution of things ? Strip matter of all that the Aristotelian would call "form," and what remains that is thinkable ? Clothe it with laws and properties, and you attribute to it that which it needs intelligence to account for. How, for instance, are we to account for the precise similarity of all atoms belonging to the same class ? Here we have incalculable myriads of simple bodies, each of which in size, structure, and properties is an exact copy of the rest. Must we not fall back on Herschell's principle that "when we

see a great number of things precisely alike, we do not believe this similarity to have originated, except from a common principle independent of them"; and must we not assent to his conclusion, "The discoveries alluded to effectually destroy the idea of one eternal, self-existent matter, by giving to each of its atoms the essential characters at once of a manufactured article and a subordinate agent"?¹ To account for the existence of such matter and force as we know, without the assumption of a presiding creative mind, is a mystery greater than any other which Mr. Mill has enumerated.

If these Theistic speculations of Mr. Mill have been dwelt on at what may seem undue length, the reason is that it is these Theistic views which really govern all his remaining religious opinions. They determine, for example, his theoretical position on the question of immortality, the common arguments for which, he admits, might be valid if we could believe in the perfect power and perfect goodness of the Creator. They affect also his views on the

EVIDENCES OF REVELATION,

a subject on which we shall now offer a few words. That Mr. Mill does not absolutely reject revelation is evident from a remarkable sentence already quoted. "To the conception of the rational sceptic," he says, "it remains a possibility that Christ actually was what He supposed Himself to be . . . a man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God, to lead mankind to truth and virtue."² Here is an admission of the possibility of revelation, of the possibility even of the truth of the Christian revelation, yet it is held that no clear proof exists which can raise this possibility to a certainty. We have to look at the theoretic grounds on which Mr. Mill maintains these various positions. And first, Mr. Mill goes a long way with the believer in revelation in the admission of its *possibility*. On this point he is clear. As Nature affords independent evidence of the existence of

¹ Quoted, with approval, by Clerk Maxwell, Tait, &c.

² *Three Essays*, p. 255.

an intelligent Creator, and also, to some extent, of His regard for the happiness of His creatures, no antecedent improbability attaches to the idea that He might give further proof of His concern for them "by communicating to them some knowledge of Himself beyond what they were able to make out by their unassisted faculties, and some knowledge or precepts useful for guiding them through the difficulties of life."¹ We would put this more strongly, and say, that granted a benevolent and wise Creator, there is a positive presumption in favour of such revelation. The next question which rises is as to the means by which a revelation, supposing one to be given, could be proved. Here Mill adopts the usual division into internal and external evidences, and discusses the two kinds separately. His view on the internal evidence is that it is not sufficient to prove a revelation, for the reason (urged also by Mr. Greg) that what the mind can recognize the excellence of, it may be capable also of discovering for itself—a very fallacious argument, on which, however, we need not dwell. Internal evidence, nevertheless, he thinks, though it cannot prove, may *disprove* a revelation, for if the moral character of an alleged revelation is bad, this alone is proof that it cannot have come from a good and wise Being. We might point out here that on Mr. Mill's own principles this scarcely touches the question, seeing that, according to him, there is no absolute evidence that the Creator *is* a perfectly good and wise Being; and seeing, further, that the account he gives of the origin of our moral ideas does not warrant us in erecting them into a standard for the Supreme Being. The first of these points he himself recognizes, when he is led to argue that we ought not to be stumbled even by the difficulties and imperfections of Christianity—these furnishing "no reason whatever," he says, "against its having come from a Being such as the course of Nature points to"²—a Being of limited attributes. This is an ingenious adaptation of Butler's reasoning, but it is very futile as respects the case in hand. It cannot be questioned that the God whom Christ

¹ *Three Essays*, p. 215.² *Three Essays*, p. 214.

reveals is not Mr. Mill's Deity of limited power and benevolence, but a God of infinite power, majesty, holiness, and love. Either, therefore, Mr. Mill's idea of Deity must be given up, or Christ's revelation must be rejected as untrue. On the whole, however, it is granted that Christianity, in its pure form, sufficiently satisfies moral tests to warrant in passing as a possibly true revelation.

Internal evidence being thus set aside, we are brought back practically to the position of the old Paley school, that the only thing which can positively certify or attest a revelation is the external evidence of

MIRACLE.

Here again Mr. Mill unquestionably renders an important service to Christianity in the clearness with which he has shown, in opposition to those who affirm the impossibility of miracles, that a miracle is no contradiction of the law of the uniformity of Nature in any sense in which that phrase can be used by science. The law in question affirms no more than that, given the same antecedents, the same consequences invariably follow. But a miracle is expressly the assertion of a new cause, and that, too, as Mr. Mill shows, if the evidence of Theism is admitted, of a *vera causa*. There is, therefore, no *a priori* ground for affirming the impossibility of a miracle; the only question relates to the evidence of its actually having been wrought. All the same, Mr. Mill does not feel at liberty to accept the Gospel miracles. His objections to them turn on the presumption against miracles derived from God's ordinary method of governing the universe; on the precariousness of the inference from the goodness of God, as a ground for believing that He will give a revelation; on the poor opinion he has of the value of the evidence for the miracles; and, finally, on the supposition that, even if faithfully reported, the works may be due to unknown natural causes. This last suggestion, it seems to us, may with great confidence be put aside, for few will doubt that if the works of Jesus in giving sight to the blind, healing the lepers, raising the dead really happened as recorded, they

are not to be accounted for except as the effects of supernatural power. The other reasons, it may also be noticed, partly nullify each other. If, on its own merits, the evidence of the Gospel miracles is as poor as Mr. Mill alleges, there is no need of going into questions of antecedent presumption. If, on the other hand, that evidence is good, much weight cannot be attached to the negative presumption from the ordinary course of nature, in face of his own admission that miracles are possible, and that only by means of miracles can a supernatural revelation be adequately attested. His argument, in fact, amounts nearly to this: It is possible and reasonable that God should give mankind a revelation, but it is impossible for Him ever to prove that He has given one; as the only way He could do it is by miracles, and the presumption against miracles is always so great as to shake our confidence in their really having happened. We do not agree with Mill in basing the evidence for Christianity entirely on external miracles, yet, as we admit that miracles are an important branch of evidence, it is impossible for us to acquiesce in so self-stultifying a conclusion as the above. Assuming that it is God's will to give a real revelation to mankind, the presumption is in favour of miracles accompanying it, and the question resolves itself ultimately into one of evidence, whether, all things being taken into consideration, we can reasonably believe that the alleged miracles actually were wrought. On this point, it seems to us that Mr. Mill does anything but justice to the evidence for

THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

There are those with whom it might be necessary to conduct a lengthened argument on this subject, but Mr. Mill himself has laid the ground for a very brief and satisfactory reply. When, for instance, he bids us remember that the original eye-witnesses were men of no standing or education, ready in their ignorance to believe anything they saw to be a miracle, &c., we are entitled to recall his own words in speaking of the Gospels: "It is of no use to say that Christ

as exhibited in the Gospels is not historical, and that we know not how much that is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of followers. . . . Who among His disciples, or among their proselytes, was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fishermen of Galilee."¹ The fishermen did not invent these sayings of Christ, this portraiture of Christ, but *they transmitted them*; and the fact that they have done so with the perfection which Mr. Mill acknowledges is a testimony to their genuine sympathy with Christ, their rare power of appreciating His greatness, and their absolute fidelity as witnesses of His words and works. It was the same men who transmitted the words who transmitted also the narratives of the works; and their fitness to do the one is the evidence of their fitness to do the other. It is useless to ascribe the sayings to Christ while attempting to explain the miracles as assertions of a "later tradition," for more and more the criticism of the Gospels compels us to recognize that both narratives and discourses rest on undoubted Apostolic testimony. The miracles, moreover, are not "insertions" in the sense of external appendages, which may be cut out, and leave the remainder of the narrative intact; they enter into the very web of the story, are bound up with Christ's most characteristic and indubitably original words, and form essential features in the *tout ensemble* of that portraiture of Christ on which Mill himself bestows such lavish praise. If the sayings could not be invented by the fishermen of Galilee, as little certainly could the miracles, which, for the most part, bear precisely the same impress of simplicity, originality, dignity, and superiority to anything which credulous minds were likely to invent, as do the other acts and words of Christ.

There is only one thing more that need here be said. If Jesus Christ was what He supposed Himself to be, and this, says Mr. Mill, must always to the rational sceptic remain a possibility, He was

¹ *Three Essays*, p. 253.

MORE THAN MR. MILL ALLOWS

—more than mere man. We do not need to go to the Gospel of St. John in proof of this. We find it interwoven with every claim which Christ makes in the Synoptics as well. Did Mr. Mill, for example, ever ponder what was involved in an undoubtedly genuine part of Christ's claim—His claim to be the Judge of the world, the Arbiter of the everlasting destinies of mankind? Does this involve, or does it not, the possession of attributes higher than the human? Yet this is only a specimen of the manifold ways in which Christ, while on earth, arrogated supernatural greatness to Himself. Character and works here are of a piece. We need not reject the miracles, while allowing the supernatural claims to stand, for the one as well as the other points beyond the limits of the human. Christ did not come into the world merely to be a teacher and guide to virtue, as Mr. Mill in his rationalizing way supposes, but to be a Redeemer from sin; and it is through his weak hold on the idea of sin that Mr. Mill misses the clue to all the higher aspects of the Saviour's character and work. With all his mental and moral progress, this defect of his early training remained with him. We cannot wonder at it. The truer marvel is that he advanced so far.

The result of this survey, in relation to the truth of the Christian religion, is greatly to enhance our sense of the security of its defences. It is not unjust to say that Mr. Mill's adverse criticism of the claims of revelation presents little that is new or important, or likely to produce a permanent impression on the minds of present-day readers; while his counter theories of a limited Deity, and of the origin of evil in physical limitations, will receive no support in the temper of the age. What will live is the growing recognition which his writings manifest of the need and value of theistic and religious hopes; of the worth of the hope of immortality; of the legitimacy of the ideas of miracle and of revelation; above all, his glowing tribute to Him whose name he acknowledges with us to be above every name.

JAMES ORR, D.D.

THEOSOPHY IN INDIA.

Theosophy literally means either "Divine wisdom" or "the wisdom of God"; and inasmuch as it may be said that just as there can be no human wisdom without a personal man, so there can be no theosophy without a personal God, the term as at present applied is a misnomer, since there is no place in modern Theosophy for God. The word is now used to express an intimate but *secret* knowledge of all truth; access to the most sublime arcana of Nature by physical processes; a notion similar to views held by Swedenborg.

This secret doctrine, which is held to be a primeval and no mere modern discovery, is said to be the mine of knowledge from which all religions and philosophies have derived whatever they possess of truth, and with which every religion must coincide if it claims to be a mode of expression *for* truth. In this way Theosophy is sometimes said to be Christianity "without the doctrines with which Christian Churches have overloaded the simple purity of their Founder's work." Christ, Luke, Paul, are all claimed as occultists. Jesus propounded the mysteries of the kingdom of God to His Apostles, but used metaphors or parables for the multitudes. The Essenes, of whom it is said Luke was one, and the Nazarenes adopted the same practice. Jesus is found "expressing His thoughts in sentences which are purely Pythagorean, when, in the Sermon on the Mount, He says, 'Give ye not that which is sacred to the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.'" Jesus Himself is said to have attained salvation through Christ, *i.e.*, by assimilating with the *Logos* (the *Vach* of the Vedantins of India), or the manifestation of the unmanifested Father (the *Parabrahman* of the Vedantins). Further, if the spirit of Jesus is to be immortal in Christ, the Jesus of flesh must die; *i.e.*, a man striving after immortality must crucify his lower nature (of flesh), which is unpermanent, and centre his higher individuality in Christ, the manifested Son of the unmanifested Father. This is the road to progress through which Nature (or rather the law of cosmic evolution) is gradually leading humanity. Again, Paul says, "We speak

wisdom"—*i.e.*, the profounder doctrines of the mysteries—"among them that are perfect," or "initiated." And when he speaks of being caught up into the third heaven, whether in the body or out of the body, he could not tell, and of having heard ineffable words, not lawful to repeat, he alludes to "the beatific visions of an initiated seer." We can see how this mystical dealing with Christianity may easily mislead unwary minds.

Theosophy is thus held to be the *absolute truth* concerning nature, man, the origin of the universe, the destiny of the soul, and the laws governing the spiritual progress of humanity; and in which Christianity and all other religions had their source. It is, in short, the wisdom of the ancient world—combining sciences and religion, physics and metaphysics—still surviving, under the name of "occult philosophy." And its importance turns on the manner in which it professes to afford *exact and experimental knowledge* concerning spiritual things, which, under all other systems, must remain the subject of either speculation or simple faith. The secret doctrines of pre-Vedic Brahmanism, of Zoroaster, of the Magi, of the priests of the Egyptian Hermes, of the Chaldean and Jewish Cabalists, of Essenes, Gnostics, Neo-Platonists, are all held to be identical in substance and spirit, and to present a body of occult science unknown to the world at large. In Plato and Pythagoras there are many hints of this secret knowledge of the ancient world. Theosophy thus connects itself with remote antiquity, and it is this bold claim made for it that invests it with so much apparent importance.

There is one religion that has remained in closer union with occult or secret philosophy than any other popular faith, and that is Buddhism: so much so, indeed, that Theosophy and *Esoteric* Buddhism—*i.e.*, the private exposition of Buddhism in distinction from the ordinary and symbolical Buddhism, which is *Exoteric* Buddhism—are interchangeable terms. The real inner meaning of the doctrines of Buddhism has been kept back from uninitiated students, and has been the exclusive possession of regularly "initiated" members of mysteriously organized societies. There are the famous *Arahats*, of Buddhist designation—"men made perfect,"

according to the Buddhist faith—better known in their Indian name of *Mahatmas*, and generally spoken of in recent years as the “Tibetan Brotherhood.” These are the adepts of the occult world, and the Tibetan Brotherhood is the highest of such associations. Adepts may be scattered over the earth ; but for ages the vast majority have been Easterns, and of these a very large proportion have been natives of India. India appears to have been the earliest home of occultism, and more of it still lingers there than anywhere else. The Hindus, as a body, believe that there are sublime sages living a secluded existence, who, by entire devotion to certain modes of life, acquire unusual faculties and powers, such as Europeans might call supernatural.

To understand why Tibet, or the borders of Tibet, has become the chosen home of the adepts, it will be necessary to go back to the commencement of Buddhist history. The reform of the occult world, as now existing, was effected by Buddha, *i.e.*, Sakhya-Muni, who was born 643 B.C., near Benares. This reform was the reward of the great sacrifice he made in rejecting the blissful condition of *Nirvana*, to which he was entitled, and assuming the burden of renewed incarnation. Next after his existence on earth as Gautama Buddha, he re-incarnated himself in the person of the great Hindu teacher, Sankaracharya, who was born on the Malabar coast about sixty years after Gautama's death. Sankaracharya, according to the opinion of initiates in esoteric science, was thus Buddha, in all respects, in a new body. The purport of this incarnation is stated in this way. Up to the time of Buddha the Brahmans of India had jealously reserved occult rule, and admitted *all* castes to “the Path” of adeptship. This knowledge for their own caste, Buddha broke through. This annoyed the Brahmans, who held that occult knowledge would be degraded by passing into low-birth and morally inferior hands. So Buddha, in the person of Sankaracharya, attempted to heal the sectarian strife. He travelled over India, and established various *Mathams*, or schools of philosophy. He was the founder of the Vedanta, or pantheistic school of philosophy, which is at present almost co-extensive with

Hinduism ; and he preached the importance of secret knowledge for spiritual progress, and for the obtaining of *moksha*, or ultimate deliverance from the ills of life. He brought ordinary or exoteric Hinduism into practical harmony with esoteric Buddhism. In the Vedanta system, the universal Spirit—a passive, unconscious principle—acts only through *prakriti*, or matter, and is the one life or energy of the universe. This doctrine is held to be identical with the transcendental materialism of esoteric Buddhism ; so that the inner faith of all the followers of the Vedanta, who reverence Sankaracharya, runs up into one and the same esoteric doctrine. This, indeed, has been one of the great aims of the Theosophical Society—to establish the identity of the whole system of cosmogony as held by the Buddhist Arahats or adepts, with that held in India long before Buddha's birth. Initiated Brahmans have been taught to see this, and this has been the secret of the success achieved by the teachings of the Theosophists among the educated natives of India. And it is said that it is only when one has comprehended the relations that really subsist between the inner principles of Brahmanism and Buddhism—*i.e.*, that Buddhism, as concerned with doctrine, *was* earlier Indian philosophy itself—that the greatness of the esoteric doctrine rises into its true proportions.

Buddha's *third* appearance on earth was in the person of Tsong-ka-pa, the great Tibetan reformer of the fourteenth century, with whom the regular system of Lamas began. In this incarnation Buddha recognized the fact that he had opened the doors of the occult sanctuary too wide for the safety of mankind ; and he was now exclusively concerned with the affairs of the adept fraternity, at that time chiefly collecting in Tibet, where, in a secret region, to this day unapproachable by any but the initiated, the adepts in occult science had from time immemorial congregated. By framing a code of rules, he weeded out of the occult body all who sought their knowledge for unworthy ends. And so we find that while Ceylon is saturated with exoteric or symbolical Buddhism, and concerns itself mainly with its moral code, Tibet has been the home of esoteric Buddhism and of its adepts.

We must now look a little at this Brotherhood of adepts—these so-called Mahatmas, who are said to reside far away in their Himālayan retreats.

Before becoming a Mahatma, one has to undergo an earlier training, which may last thirty or forty years. In this stage he is called a "*chela*," or pupil of occultism, and these "chelas" seem to be very numerous. At whatever age a boy or man dedicates himself to the occult career, he does it for life. The level of elevation which makes a Mahatma is "only attained after prolonged and weary probation, self-restrained and chaste habits, and anxious ordeals of really terrible severity." The task that such an one undertakes is the development in himself of a great many faculties and attributes which lie utterly dormant in ordinary humanity; and the great end and purpose of adeptship is *spiritual* development, which gives rise to a great deal of "incidental knowledge of the physical laws of Nature not yet generally understood." It is claimed that one cannot understand details in this knowledge till one gets a general understanding of the whole scheme of things; and so the system of reasoning from generals to particulars (which has been discarded in the West) is adopted. This was Plato's system, and he is claimed as an "initiated occultist." This knowledge and the practical art of manipulating certain obscure forces of Nature invest a man, even at an early age, with "very extraordinary powers, which, in their application to matters of daily life, will sometimes produce results that seem almost miraculous." The *clairvoyant* faculties of the adept are said to be so complete that they amount to a species of omniscience as regards human affairs. The body is no longer the prison of the soul; but the adept can "project his soul out of his body to any place he pleases with the rapidity of thought," and can hold conversation with any other adept by means of "a psychological telegraphy" over any part of the earth's surface.

The Oriental adept is thus an immensely superior man to the Darwins, the Tyndalls, the Herbert Spencers of the West. While they cultivate mere *intellect*, and obtain knowledge by the laborious processes of reasoning, the adept, by

the cultivation of *spirituality*—which the Western mind depreciates—becomes aware of the workings of Nature by direct assimilation of the mind with her higher principles. Modern science has discovered the circulation of the blood ; occult science understood long since the circulation of the life-principle. Modern physiology deals with the body only ; occultism with the soul also, as an actual entity whose properties can be examined with or apart from those of the body. The cultivation of spirituality is occult science in its highest sense : the cultivation of mere power over the forces of Nature, and the investigation of some of her subtler secrets, is occult science in its lowest aspect ; and into that lower region mere physical science may, it is said, and even must, gradually run up. (Sinnett's *Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 126.)

There is another great difference between the Eastern and the Western method of cultivating knowledge. Modern science in Europe is publicly prosecuted, and the results made known to all ; Asiatic science is studied secretly, and its results are jealously guarded. The reason given for this is that to possess such knowledge is to wield power ; and the motive of secrecy “turns upon the danger of conferring powers upon people who have not, by undergoing the necessary training of initiates, given moral guarantees of their trustworthiness.” Such powers, in the hands of selfish or unscrupulous persons, would be dangerous to society, and provocative of all manner of crimes which would defy detection.

The seemingly magic feats which the adepts perform are accomplished by means of familiarity with a force in Nature that is referred to in Sanscrit writings as “*akas*,” a much more potent and subtle force than electricity. Ages before the properties and powers of electricity were discovered, occult science had discovered the properties and powers of “*akas*.” It is said that Lord Lytton, who has had much to do with occultism, poetizes this “*akas*” in his book on *The Coming Race*, under the term “*vril*.” This “*akas*,” “astral light,” or ether, is the vehicle of all force, and the connecting link between matter and spirit. There is scarcely any limit when a person is once possessed of the requisite physical

and mental organization, to the power of using and directing this fluid. "By a mere exercise of will, the force that holds together the ultimate atoms of any dead matter is neutralized, and the object passes into the unseen universe. By another effort, these atoms are propelled along a current in any direction to any desired place, and there, the neutralizing force withdrawn, the atoms, so to speak, re-crystallize, and the object repasses into the visible universe." What might not be effected in this way, in the matter of wholesale robberies, by mischievous persons! Sitting in a room in India, an adept might cause all the British Crown jewels in the Tower of London to disappear there, and re-crystallize on his table on the other side. He might, if wicked enough, rob the whole of mankind, without any chance of detection; hence great secrecy is observed in the pursuit of all occult science.

With regard to the peculiar doctrine or science of the Mahatmas, no systematic exposition is to be found in ancient or modern literature. Whatever is now known, such as that given in Mr. Sinnett's work on *Esoteric Buddhism*, and, indeed, in the late Mme. Blavatsky's own works, *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*, has been imparted, it is claimed, by direct instruction from one or other of the Mahatmas themselves.

The following, gathered from the above sources, is an outline of esoteric teaching on such subjects as the constitution of man, the state after death, the evolution of humanity, the universe, and God.

A "perfect" man would be resolvable into seven elements :
 1. The body (Sanskrit, *rupa*) ; 2. Vitality (*jiva*) ; 3. Astral body (*linga sharira*) ; 4. Animal soul (*kama rupa*) ; 5. Human soul (*manas*) ; 6. Spiritual soul (*buddhi*) ; 7. Spirit (*atma*). The first and second principles, body and vitality—matter and force—are regarded as identical. There is no principle in nature wholly immaterial. Matter exists in other states than those cognizable by the five senses. The third principle, the "astral body," is the "original design" or "ethereal duplicate" of the physical body ; and becomes dis-

embodied at death. It is that which is sometimes taken for the "ghost" of a departed person. The fifth principle, the "human soul," is the seat of reason and memory. It is a portion of this which is really projected to distant places by an adept when he makes an appearance in his "astral body." This principle is not as yet fully developed in the majority of mankind; while the next principle, the "spiritual soul," is still in embryo. Each of the higher principles, from the "animal soul" upwards, is a vehicle of the one life or spirit of the universe. When this one life penetrates the seventh principle in man, *i.e.*, his "spirit," man ceases to be man, and attains a wholly superior condition of existence.

At death the three lower principles—body, vitality, astral body—are finally abandoned by that which really is the man himself, who passes into the world immediately above our own—the "astral plane" or "karma loca"—a sort of antechamber for the soul. That which is of the earth earthy in the "human soul," floats off in the earth's atmosphere, being attracted to the region of desire; while the best elements—those which constitute the "ego" of the man and the consciousness thereof—follow the sixth and seventh principles—"spiritual soul" and "spirit" itself—into the *Devachan* or heaven of Buddhist philosophy, which is a state, not a locality—a life of effects, the duration and intensity of which is determined by the merit and spirituality of the earth-life last past. Here there is infinite variety of well-being: the soul expands, and all spiritual aspirations come to fruition, until its "*karma*" is satisfied, and then the soul's waking from *Devachan*—which is a "rosy sleep," a "peaceful night"—is its next birth into objective life. We are told that two sympathetic souls in *Devachan* will each make the other a sharer in its subjective bliss.

The reverse side of *Devachan* is *Avitchi*—a state of the most ideal spiritual wickedness, to be reached only in exceptional cases and by exceptional natures—by the "aristocrats of sin." "It is not given to the *οἱ πολλοί* to reach the eminence of a Satan every day." Commonplace sinners reap the fruits of their evil deeds in a following re-incarnation, on the principle of the Chinese philosopher that, as "evil is

the dark son of earth," the place of punishment for most of our sins is the earth itself. The *transmigration* of Buddhism is said to be "the transmigration of Darwinian evolution scientifically developed, or rather exhaustively explored, in both directions." While in the remote course of *pre-human* evolution there may be births in different kinds of animals, "no human creature, once having attained manhood, falls back into the animal kingdom."

Passing on now, we find that esoteric science, though the most spiritual system, exhibits the most exhaustive system of evolution pervading Nature that the mind can conceive. The Darwinian theory of evolution is simply an independent discovery of a portion of the vast truth. There are said to be seven kingdoms of nature—three below the mineral, having to do with astral and elementary forms which Western science knows nothing about ; then mineral, vegetable, and animal ; and then *man*, who belongs to a kingdom distinctly separate from that of animals. Occult science, it is claimed, knows how to explain evolution without degrading the highest principles of man. Its theory of physics and its theory of spirituality are closely blended. The evolution of man is not a process carried out on this planet alone. It is a result to which many worlds, in different conditions of material and spiritual development, have contributed. In one world—Mars—*matter* is said to assert itself more decisively than on our earth ; while the worlds higher in the scale are those in which *spirit* largely predominates. The system of worlds, which are seven in number, is a circuit round which *all* individual spiritual entities have alike to pass, in a spiral or ascending manner of progress, with life evolved on each world through a series of re-births ; and this passage constitutes the evolution of man, so that in higher and higher forms we shall return to this earth again and again. Seven of these "rounds" have to be accomplished before the destinies of *our* system are worked out. The "round" at present going on is the fourth. Each "round" is specially allotted to the predominance of one of the seven principles of man, so that here and now the "animal soul" is having its day. Each

unit has to work through seven races on each planet before passing on to the next ; and each of these races, again, occupies the earth for a long time. The bulk of humanity now on the globe are going through the fifth race of the present fourth "round." The evolution of this fifth race began a million years ago ; hence there was civilization on the earth at that remote time, the traces of which are now lost in buried continents, such as the "lost Atlantis" and Lemuria. Mankind in the seventh round will be something altogether "too God-like for mankind in the fourth round, in which we now are, to forecast its attributes." It is possible for individual monads to outstrip their companions as regards development ; and so a man, born as an ordinary "fourth round man," may, by process of occult training—as is the lot of the adepts or Mahatmas—convert himself into a "fifth round man," or he may be at once born a "fifth rounder," by virtue of the total number of his previous incarnations.

It may be interesting to know that in this marvellous evolution, freewill and spiritual responsibility operate ; and in this liberty of choice is very rightly found the necessity of evil. The question of *survival*, however, of continued existence when the highest levels are reached, turns not on whether a man be virtuous or wicked—these determine temporary happiness or misery—but on the question of spirituality as compared with physicality. The question is, Has a man qualified himself to live by the cultivation of the durable portion of his nature ? if not, he has got to the end of his tether ; and the soul ultimately convicted of unfitness to go any farther in the upward spiral path, undergoes dissolution, and descends into the sphere of pure matter. Thus many of Nature's germs will eventually perish. "The great end of the whole stupendous evolution of humanity is to cultivate human souls so that they shall be ultimately fit for the conditions of *Nirvana*," which is described as "a sublime state of conscious rest in omniscience." Those who have reached this condition are called *Dhyan Chohans*, or *Planetary Spirits* ; they are the perfected fruit of former humanity, and reign in a Divine way over the destinies of the world. It will thus be seen that no

supreme God finds a place in Theosophy. It is said that the lofty representatives of occult science "never occupy themselves at all with any conception remotely resembling the God of churches and creeds." The "seventh principle," or universal Spirit, undefinable, incomprehensible, which exists everywhere, and which animates matter, is "the only God recognized ; and no personification of this can be otherwise than symbolical." Matter, space, motion, and duration constitute the one and only eternal substance of the universe. The idea of *creation* is, of course, excluded ; our planet and ourselves are "no more creations than an iceberg," but simply transitory states of being. The universe is what it is through the "vivifying expansive force of Nature in its eternal evolution."

For the past ten years people have heard rumours of these marvellous Tibetan adepts, of a wonder-working Indo-American Sibyl, and of the Theosophical Society. The Tibetan Brothers, or Mahatmas, accepted this Society as a more or less imperfect agency for the performance of a certain work ; and thus a link of communication was formed with the great fraternity in the background. The late Mme. Blavatsky was the leading spirit of the Society. She belonged to a Russian family, having been born in 1831 at Ekaterinoslow, but became naturalized in the United States. She was married in 1848 to General Blavatsky, who was nearly seventy years of age, but fled away in a few months and wandered about Eastern Europe. Some forty years of her life were devoted to occult pursuits, after which she is said to have undergone a course of study in a Himālayan retreat. She was then induced by the Brotherhood to visit America, where she founded, at New York, on November 17th, 1875, the Theosophical Society, assisted mainly by Colonel Olcott, an officer of the American Army, who rendered good service during the war, and was a counsellor-at-law and journalist. The objects of the Society, which was ushered in by "phenomena" of a wondrous kind, were, as originally set forth, (*a*) to form a nucleus of a universal brotherhood of humanity by means of philosophical studies ; (*b*) to investigate the hidden mysteries of Nature and the psychical powers latent in Man ;

and (c) to promote the study of Aryan and other Oriental literature, religions, and sciences, in which the clue to these secrets lay hidden. The founders maintained that the best interests of religion and science would be promoted by the revival of Sanscrit, Pali, Zend, and other ancient literatures. America was chosen as the cradle of the Society, because, of all Western countries, it is the one in which materialism was most easy to combat, owing to the wide diffusion of spiritualistic experiences; though Mme. Blavatsky always contended that occult phenomena must not be confounded with the phenomena of spiritualism—"the spirits" in the former counting for nothing at all, and supernatural explanations of the causes at work being unnecessary. Occult phenomena are the achievements of a conscious, living operator, comprehending and manipulating the natural laws and forces with which he works; the phenomena of spiritualism are manifestations which mediums can neither control nor understand.

Some five years after the Society was founded, Mme. Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, whom she chose as her associate, went to India to establish the Society among the natives, from whose natural sympathies with mysticism and intuitive belief in *yog Vidya*—the Indian name for occult science—it was reasonable to expect an ardent response to the enterprise. It also appealed to their patriotism and national pride, by telling them to seek wisdom at their very doors, in their own ancient books; by exhibiting India as the fountain-head of the highest culture, of a wisdom far in advance of any to be met with in other parts of the known world. The meditative mind of India accords well with the system of metaphysical research, which verifies everything by intuition; and the orthodox mind of the nation hailed what it believed would rescue the country from decay and oblivion, and arrest the destructive tendency of English education by unfolding the treasures of their own sacred literature. With such a favourable soil the Society took an unmistakable hold of the Hindu mind, and enrolled thousands of disciples, albeit the entrance fee and annual subscription demanded of members were fairly high. The Dewan of Mysore, an en-

lightened statesman, once remarked to the writer that Theosophy had far greater attractions for Hindus than the Brahma Samaj cult, and was altogether a more national movement. Some who joined it went in heartily for occult study, while others contented themselves with the practical work of the Society, which was regarded as the great agency for the revival of Eastern learning, and as the channel by which the cultivated men of all races might be brought together. Besides the branches of the Society in Europe, America, and Australasia, some forty branches were established over India and Ceylon, which drew together Buddhists, Hindus, Parsis, Jews, and Christians. Colonel Olcott has been, and still is, the President of the Society, whose headquarters have been, since 1882, at the Adyar, Madras. In addition to a periodical called *The Path*, published in America, and *Lucifer*, the London organ, edited by Mme. Blavatsky, a monthly journal, *The Theosophist*, published at Madras, has had a wide circulation in India. Mme. Blavatsky was also the author of a ponderous and unreadable book, named *Isis Unveiled*, which is an authoritative exposition of the views of the psychical section of the Society.

A strange mesmeric story is told of this lady. In 1884, when suffering from some pain in her arm, she went to Paris, and was mesmerized daily by M. Evetté, who completely cured her. On January 1st, 1889, the pain began in the arm again, and she was disposed to doubt the efficacy of magnetism, which she had believed cured once for all. She learned, however, that M. Evetté had died that very day, and she wrote to a friend, "What an extraordinary occurrence! The very day, perhaps hour, when the mesmerist died, these mysterious particles of a curative fluid, which had kept my pain away, left me. Have they returned to him?"

The first president of the London or British branch of the Theosophical Society was Dr. George Wyld, a Christian theosophist, who "found the highest form of theosophy in pure Christianity," and who, in a book entitled, *Theosophy and the Higher Life*, maintained that without this key it was impossible to know what man was, and what Christ was, and

impossible to understand how man could see God in Christ, and thus save his soul. When, however, the Indian journal, *The Theosophist*, denied the existence of God, personal or impersonal, Dr. Wyld gave up all connection with the Society, and addressed an interesting letter to his Indian brethren, pressing the claims of Christian theosophy on their acceptance. Theosophy, as expounded in India, has been a vigorous and bitter anti-Christian system of sublimated pantheism. Its advent has demonstrated—so its founders declared—that organized Christianity has been failing in the West, and that Buddhism has been becoming the more popular faith. Many members of the Society in India have been instructed to preach Hindu or Buddhist theosophy, especially in places where missionary influence was in the ascendant, and it has been alleged that Christian converts were beginning to be ashamed to confess that they abandoned a good religion without sufficient cause.

To return now, in conclusion, to the hypothesis of the existence of the Mahatmas: that hypothesis rested on the most shadowy foundations. Apart from the Hindu belief in such a Brotherhood of adepts, and the statements of those who testified to having seen one or other of the Brothers, or to have worked under them, the assumption rested on an alleged series of phenomena; on communications supposed to have come from Tibet, and received inside letters and telegrams, which either dropped from the air in front of a disciple, or were deposited in the letter-box at the shrine in Madras. Mme. Blavatsky was herself styled an "initiate," and was supposed to possess the power of psychological telegraphy with her occult friends, the Brothers, through whom she was said to have done some extraordinary things.¹ In the writing of her *magnum opus*, *Isis Unveiled*, she was continually assisted in this way; indeed, the book itself deserves to be classed among the phenomena of theosophy; for by means of "precipitation," quantities of actual MS. in

¹ A full account of her sensational exploits will be found in *The Occult World*, by Mr. A. P. Sinnett, her most eminent disciple, who is also the author of *Incidents in the Life of Mme. Blavatsky*.

other handwritings than her own were produced while she slept! In the morning she would sometimes find as many as thirty slips on her table, added to her work. The most famous of the Tibetan Brotherhood was "Koot Hoomi," whose Tibetan mystic name was "Lal Sing," and who had the power of sending his "astral body" careering through space, and of telegraphing, without wires, his inspired ideas to his disciples, from one end of the globe to the other. On one occasion, in the transmission of one of these "inspired" messages, it seemed as if the age of miracles had returned. It was a grand philosophical disquisition, in which Plato was largely quoted. Faithful souls read and believed. But, as disclosed in a pamphlet by Mr. Arthur Lillie, called *Koot Hoomi Unveiled*, the message was taken from an address delivered a year before by Professor Kiddle, of America, entitled, "The Present Outlook of Spiritualism." This led to Mr. C. C. Massey, an ardent Theosophist, resigning his fellowship in the London Lodge. He and others gave up esoteric Buddhism, and came back to common sense. Still, when one remembers that the Buddhists have applied machinery to *praying*, and that a single Buddhist can, with the help of a praying water-wheel, turn out more prayers in an hour than a Methodist could offer in a week of camp-meeting; that these prayer-wheels have a nominal power of 1,000 prayers per hour, and are capable of working up to 1,500; what is more probable than that the Lamas have in use *miracle-wheels* of still greater capacity?

But it was reserved for the *Madras Christian College Magazine* to publish an exceedingly able and complete exposure of all the occult phenomena which were said to demonstrate the existence of the Mahatmas, and from which the Theosophical Society gained its *κῦδος* in India far more than from any intrinsic merit. By means of original papers in Mme. Blavatsky's writing, which were handed over to the editor of the magazine by her colleague and accomplice, Mme. Coulomb, who, for some reason or other, was expelled from the Society by its Managing Committee, it was proved beyond all doubt (in the September and subse-

quent numbers of the Magazine of 1884) what the marvellous phenomena were ; that Madame's trick of causing a bell to sound in the air might be bought at any good shop where conjuring apparatus was sold, under the title, "Is your Watch a Repeater ?" that Koot Hoomi's letters were produced by Madame herself ; that his "astral body" was manufactured out of bladders and gauze ; and that the mild Colonel was, partly at least, a dupe ! The Psychical Research Society sent out Mr. Hodgson to investigate the whole matter, with the result that he published a Report condemning Mme. Blavatsky unreservedly. This successful "unveiling" of the theosophical fraud did a great amount of public good in India ; and, one would think, to the Society as well, if it is anxious to clear truth of trivialities and falsehoods.

We have thus endeavoured to give a straightforward account of both sides of a remarkable movement. That there is a true Theosophy few will deny. That Mme. Blavatsky was a masculine woman of wonderful personality and great genius, though with an excitable temper and most erratic judgment that continually irritated her nearest friends ; unconventional to the last degree ; and with an amazing power of captivating minds of a certain order, and of convincing them of the possibility of communing with an invisible world, is also unquestionable. She certainly did her best to familiarize the matter-of-fact West with some of the characteristics of the mystical East ; and, more than that, did something to recover the reality of the spiritual from the materialism of a sceptical generation. It is greatly to be regretted that her work should have been marred by what, to say the least, was most damaging to herself and to the whole enterprise. There is no doubt that the more sober teaching of the Society in India was an amazingly skilful adaptation of some modern scientific theories to the ancient philosophy of the East. Since it was demonstrated what the phenomena that ushered in the Society to India really were, the pursuit of the philosophy has languished, though the endeavour is still being made to prosecute the work on somewhat worthier foundations.

T. E. SLATER,

CURRENT LITERATURE.

**Biography of
Abp. Tait.** The authors of these memoirs have provided two interesting volumes, which, we doubt not, will find a large number of readers. As a biography, this life of the Archbishop (1) will take high rank. A judicious selection has been made of the letters presented in illustration of the various points in the history; and the facts of the Archbishop's life are presented in a lively and entertaining manner. Some time has elapsed before presenting this memoir to the public, and that is well; for it is not good to produce a biography, as we may say, red-hot; such a process may induce a temporary success from a bookseller's point of view, but it does not permanently help anybody. Of course, all memoirs, such as the one under consideration, must be looked upon as *ex parte* statements rather than as historical records. Authors so bound to their subject, and, indeed, any writer of the biography of a character only just passed out of public ken, must be restrained by motives of kindliness and affection, and their feelings must give a colouring even where nothing else but good could be recorded; therefore, while this work will not be disregarded by the future historian, another generation or two will settle better, even if it does not materially alter, the opinion that is to be expressed upon the life and character of a man who filled, and filled well, a most important post at a critical time, and who will always figure largely in the ecclesiastical records of the nineteenth century. Speaking of the Archbishop in his more personal relationship, the work before us shows him to be a very successful man—a man who attained the highest eminence without being exactly a great man. That he was shrewd and persistent was to be expected from his nationality. But he seems to have attained his scholarship and fellowship and tutorship without being brilliantly learned. When made Head Master of Rugby, Dean Lake recommended him to have a "composition master" to help him out. Dr. Tait seems to have had the makings of a bishop in him from very early times, for he was hailed as the future Primate early in life, though whether he always

kept that goal in view is not stated in this biography. His transference from the Deanery of Carlisle to the See of London was a bold step on the part of the then Government; but the choice was justified, and so much so, that he was shortly afterwards offered the Archbishopric of York, which he declined; and then, on the death of Dr. Longley, he became Archbishop of Canterbury. His administration of the various posts he held in the Church must be considered satisfactory. He was in office during several troublesome conflicts, and he fairly steered his bark so as to avoid all rocks and quicksands. Moreover, his administration of ecclesiastical affairs added a good deal to the weight and influence of the Church both at home and abroad. This biography shows Dr. Tait to have been a good man, who lived with a very vivid idea before him of the presence of God; and his letters to various people are permeated by a strong vein of affectionate tolerance. Dr. Tait had exceptional sorrows in his family life, and had to battle against constitutional weakness; and so his energy and perseverance in the conduct of the immense amount of work that fell to his share are worthy of unrestricted praise. His action in the matter of the Essays and Reviews, the Colenso controversy, and the disputes with the Rev. F. D. Maurice and others, the Athanasian Creed, and Burials, cost him much contention and some recrimination. But, on the whole, he was statesman enough to see that these were merely storms upon the surface of the ocean, and that they would in time blow over and leave the atmosphere clearer than before. And his prevision has justified itself. Who reads the Essays and Reviews now? Are not Bishop Colenso's theological works put upon the back shelves to collect the dust of oblivion? The Athanasian Creed is no longer a subject of burning controversy in the Church of England, although other religious bodies are anxiously considering how they shall alter their creeds to suit the temper of the times. Archbishop Tait seems to have had a thorough trust and confidence in the Divine Head of the Church, and he felt that the difficulties he had to contend with were best met in a broad and good-tempered spirit. His sound common sense made him listened to in the House of Lords with respectful attention, and everywhere he exerted a power second to none of his predecessors in the Primacy. We may not always agree with his policy, but we cannot deny his efficiency. The Bishop of London's Fund, now placed upon a permanent footing, is a lasting monument of his sagacity; and we could heartily hope that his successors would emulate his example in doing what they can to make

the resources of the Church more effectual for their purpose, and to add to them where necessary. We have strayed more than is our wont into the consideration of the personality of this biography, being tempted by the subject; we ought possibly to consider more in detail the characteristics of the *book* which is before us. We repeat that we heartily praise it as a memoir; it is pleasantly written, it keeps well to its subject, and it enables us easily to follow the course of the events which took place in the period under review. If exception be taken to anything in the volumes, it will be to the length and frequency of the extracts from the Archbishop's own diaries; but, after all, these show the bent of his mind and add vividness to the narrative. One of the most momentous of Archbishop Tait's exertions seems to have been the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, about which he thus writes in his diary: "By two o'clock the Bill was safe, and I wrote in the House of Lords to the Queen, 'Thank God, the Bill has passed.' I received congratulations on all sides. So ends a work which has given no rest for six months. May God grant that the peace and lasting good of His Church may follow from our labours!" That is a prayer which could never be out of place, but we expect that as time went on the Archbishop did not derive that satisfaction from the passing of this Act which he had hoped for. The Ritualistic question must have given him many an anxious hour; and at the present time it remains one of the most serious problems the nation has to solve. To many the exterior revival of Church work is a satisfactory sign of the reasonableness of the attitude the highest section of the Church party has taken up; while, on the other hand, many sincere friends of the Church, many who have the deepest love for true religion, see in the teaching and practices of the Ritualists an approach to Romish doctrine and worship which is more and more alarming. Certainly the passing of this Act has not quieted the opposition of parties in the Church, or done away with prosecutions and imprisonment and other forms of what is looked upon as modern martyrdom. What will be the issue time alone will show. Meantime, let us hope that Archbishop Tait's tolerance and real desire for the welfare and advancement of true religion will more and more find imitators.

(1) *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury.* By Randall Thomas Davidson, D.D., Dean of Windsor; and William Benham, Hon. Canon of Canterbury. Two Vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891. Price 30s.

Sermons. *Courtship and Marriage* (1) is the taking, but somewhat misleading, title of a volume of lectures given by Mr. Harry Jones in St. Philip's Church, Regent Street, on Sunday afternoons. Some of these lectures have been published in the *Leisure Hour*, *Sunday at Home*, *Newbery House Magazine*, and the *Times*. Mr. Jones is one of the philosophers of the age, and his utterances are generally full of good sound sense. This characteristic will make the volume useful in many ways. *Courtship and Marriage* is the subject of the first lecture; and with regard to these matters, Mr. Jones tells us that "the voice of mankind in many tones has declared that love can be reckoned honest before God and man only when it is authorized, sealed, and guarded by law, *i.e.*, by what, time out of mind, man has devised in order that society may be not brutal, but human. The Church has, in truth, only accepted, refined, and set in sacred words what the world had found out to be necessary for the right relationship of men and women." Other lectures have for titles Number One, Education, Christian Worship, Religious Toleration, and Sensationalism. With regard to gambling, Mr. Jones does not afford much light to its definition, or to the means to be taken towards its repression; it is confessedly a most difficult subject, but he very sensibly says that "if it is to be effectively faced and rooted out, this end can be attained only by a more sedulous seeking for, and application of, the great moral and spiritual principles of life, and a perception that we have to do, in the commonest routine of the day, in the pursuit of our pleasures and the discharge of business, great or small, with a living God who has given us laws which cannot (with impunity) be broken; and that in His economy nothing is more sure than that He leaves nothing to chance." With regard to drunkenness, and the means of lessening it, Mr. Jones is of opinion that since the hindrances provided as remedies apply to the sober as well as to the intemperate, it is well for a legislature to observe the law of temperance by knowing when to stop. In the lecture on Sin against the Holy Ghost, Mr. Jones discusses this deep matter fairly, and keeps mainly to the most generally received opinion that it is a state of mind rather than a unique and defined act of offence. But he adds it is not a rare, but a common sin—as common as self-induced disease, which is incurable as long as persisted in. Mr. Jones thinks that the impossibility of forgiveness of which our Lord speaks is bounded by the continuance of the offence; but then the parallel of the curability of self-induced disease will hardly hold, for all

disease is not curable when left off; the effects in many cases indelibly remain. Mr. Jones is strong on the subject of the Impotence of Oaths, and hopeful with regard to Human Progress. These lectures are well worth perusal, and we hope that in their present convenient shape they will find a multitude of readers.

The Rev. A. O. Smith has published a volume entitled *Balaam and other Sermons* (2), with the laudable intention of raising funds wherewith to provide a new warming apparatus and additional bells for the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Hoylandswaine, of which parish he is curate. We are glad to be told that his former volume was successful in providing help to this end, and we trust that Mr. Smith's efforts will attain all the success he desires. But the sermons are worth printing for other reasons; they contain many beautiful thoughts and happy expressions, and they show a wide appreciation of the needs of human nature. The sermons are cast in a form now somewhat old-fashioned, but they are good discourses, and can be recommended.

Messrs. Nisbet & Co. have issued in a handy and handsome volume *Twelve Sermons* (3) by the late Dr. Bersier, which have been excellently translated by Mrs. Alexander Waugh. There is neither preface nor comment, and none is needed, for the sermons themselves require no introduction nor commendation. They are grand discourses, learned and logical, and though their length is somewhat beyond ordinary, that is not felt in reading them, nor probably was it noticed in listening to them when delivered. They are all argumentative, and contain many passages of great eloquence. The arguments are all of them fair and reasonable, and no undue advantage is taken of the unanswerable position of the preacher in the pulpit. The subjects are various, and it is not easy to see why these particular discourses are put into one volume together, except that they are splendid specimens of the oratory of a preacher who can almost match Massillon in matter and manner. The last three discourses are on the subject of immortality, and form an excellent treatise on that subject; all the discourses have a freshness which is delightful; and we were particularly struck by that on the Narrowness of the Gospel, which is, in its way, a masterpiece. Dr. Bersier was a widely-read, learned, and cultured man; and in the pulpit he poured out of his richly-stored mind a wonderful stream of oratory, which must have had a great effect on those who were privileged to be his hearers. This volume will be a store to which many a

preacher can apply with benefit ; and for the general reader it forms a work which will be more and more appreciated as it is read and read again. Volumes of sermons are common as can be, but such a one as this is indeed worth welcoming. We may add that it is enriched with a portrait of the preacher.

During the Lenten season of 1890, the Dean of Norwich delivered a series of discourses on *Christian Doctrine* (4). The subjects considered are indicated by the titles, which are Original Sin, Actual Sin, The Atonement, Justification by Faith, Sanctification. It goes without saying that in no case is the subject exhaustively treated ; it could not be so in the limits available. But they are clear and explicit statements, and are valuable as reminding those who heard them, and must also remind a far larger circle of readers, of truths which, in these days, are apt to be put somewhat into the background. Dr. Lefroy proceeds upon the old lines, and makes no attempt whatever to square these fundamental doctrines with modern notions ; the truth that *was* the truth is, in his idea, the truth now ; and we are pleased to see a dignitary of the Church stating his views, which would, in some quarters, be now considered somewhat antiquated. The Dean of Norwich speaks with no faltering voice, and he is both able and willing to state his belief, and give reasons for the faith that is in him. The little work now under review is, therefore, valuable to experienced Christians as a reminder, and still more so to younger disciples as giving the fundamental doctrines of our religion in a form which is at once accurate and attractive. In the sermon on Original Sin, Dr. Lefroy gives the death of a child as one proof of the existence and malign influence of this great evil. We had thought that it was now generally admitted that death was in the world before Adam, and that the death pronounced upon our first parents was not the mortal demise that humanity is liable to, as well as all other sublunary creatures ; and if Dr. Lefroy believe in the deathlessness of our race unless they had fallen, he should have stated his views at greater length. On page 30, Pharaoh is evidently put for Potiphar. In the sermon on the Atonement, *salvation by sacrifice* is insisted on with great force and eloquence ; and in that on Justification, the Dean justifies the treatment of such subjects in the pulpit as against the strictures of those who argue that more practical and every-day topics ought to be brought forward. The sermon on Sanctification is especially noticeable, and the doctrine is maintained that sanctification is a "series

of dispositions," and does not entirely consist of good works, which are the fruits of the Spirit only in a secondary degree, however important that degree may be. We are glad to see that the Church of England has a dignitary who can, and who will, propound evangelical truth with such vigour and fairness, and we hope this little work will find a large and increasing number of readers who will read it, and prayerfully digest the truths therein contained.

Miscellaneous. *The British Weekly Pulpit* (5) is a companion journal to

The British Weekly, and the third volume is now before us. It contains sermons of various kinds by many eminent preachers, and outlines of sermons by many others; and there are also some very good specimens of sermons to children. Besides this, there are pulpit prayers, which are in some cases wonderful both as regards matter and manner. There are also two instances of services completely reported, which are interesting as showing how eminent ministers conduct Divine service. In the case of Dr. Parker (p. 193), we find he gives a running commentary on the passage of Scripture which he chooses for public reading. There are advantages and there are disadvantages in this practice; and on the whole we incline to the belief that the commentary, if necessary, is better to be appended at the end. However, we suppose that in the passage quoted the congregation would easily distinguish between what the Apostle St. John wrote and what Dr. Parker added. The volume is completed by some short, interesting articles, and altogether makes a useful aid for a hard-worked minister.

The Subject Testament (6) is the New Testament arranged according to the subject matter. It is divided into four parts—Historical, Doctrinal, Practical, and Prophetical—and is a suggestive little work which we can commend to students.

(1) *Courtship and Marriage*. By the Rev. Harry Jones, M.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1890.

(2) *Balaam and other Sermons*. By the Rev. A. Owen Smith, B.A., L.Th. London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

(3) *Twelve Sermons*. By the late Eugène Bersier, D.D. Translated by Mrs. Alexander Waugh. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1891.

(4) *Christian Doctrine*. By the Very Rev. Wm. Lefroy, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London: Jarrold & Sons. 1891.

(5) *The British Weekly Pulpit*. Vol. 3. London: Elliot Stock.

(6) *The Subject Testament*. By Wm. Foster, F.S.A.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Limited. 1890. Price 6d.

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EXEGETICAL HINTS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BENGEL well remarks, "The Scriptures support the Church, the Church guards the Scriptures. When the Church flourishes, the Scriptures are had in honour; and when the Church becomes sickly, the Scriptures suffer by it." The danger of our day is a criticism that sets itself as the judge of Scripture, instead of reverencing Scripture as its judge. Our true attitude is that of searchers desiring to know fully the mind of God as expressed in Holy Writ, that we may reverently obey it. To quote Bengel again, "A servant waiting upon guests at a great supper, who trims the lamps furnished by the master of the house that they may burn the brighter, performs a more acceptable service than if he kindled any single taper of his own to add to the light." The object of these exegetical hints is to make Scripture's own light shine the clearer by removing misunderstandings.

The Samaritan Pentateuch supplies a reading of Genesis iv. 8 which is congruous to the sense and confirmed by the Syriac-Peshito and the Vulgate of Jerome, "And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field. And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up," &c. The Hebrew [יָאָמַר אֵל] for "talked with" means "said to," in

accordance with the Samaritan reading (not "talked with," as our Authorised Version). It graphically marks that the murder was premeditated, Cain inviting his brother into the field for his deadly purpose.

The sense in ver. 7 has been disputed. Lightfoot explains sin as meaning a *sin-offering* (so in Hosea iv. 8). The objection is that the usage of laying the sacrifice "at the door" of the sanctuary was not known before the giving of the ceremonial law. The phrase, however, may mean generally *is near at hand* without reference to the sanctuary door: If thou doest not well, it is still in thy power to regain acceptance by a sin-offering *before the Cherubim at the east of Eden*. But the Hebrew for "lieth," *robetz*, akin to the Assyrian *Rabitz*, a class of demons which spring from their lair on their victims, expresses the *crouching* of a wild beast previous to its spring. Sin as the old serpent (1 Peter v. 8) watches at thy door ready to devour. Wrath, the germ of fratricide (1 John iii. 12-15) and the forerunner of punishment (Zech. xiv. 19, margin), may yet be shut out; it is not yet too late; so his desire shall still be unto thee, and thou shalt rule over him. Keil's interpretation, "Its desire shall be toward thee, but thou shouldst rule over it," is disproved by chap. iii. 16 (where the same phrase expresses subordination; there of wife to husband, here of younger to elder brother), "thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." That the first-born could lose his birthright by sin appears from the case of Reuben (Gen. xlix. 3, 4; 1 Chron. v. 1). Cain doubtless feared this because of God's rejection of his sacrifice, and so was malignantly jealous of Abel. "Sin" in the Hebrew is feminine, but "lieth" masculine (*chattath robeetz*), because sin is personified as a beast crouching for its prey. The Hebrew for "shalt thou not be accepted" (*Se-eeth*) is "shall there not be *lifting up*," that is, of the countenance, in contrast to vers. 5, 6, "his countenance fell." God would give him cause for lifting up his countenance by accepting him if he did well (see text and margin of Revised Version on the whole passage).

It is plain from Genesis iv. 16 ("Cain went out from the

presence of Jehovah") that the Divine Presence was still vouchsafed to man after the Fall at the Cherubim placed east of Eden, before which Cain and Abel presented their offerings. The Hebrew for "placed" in Gen. iii. 24 is *Yashkeen*, "He made to dwell," as the *Shekinah* (a cognate Hebrew word) glory over the Mercy-seat in the Tabernacle. The worshipper before the Cherubim faced the West—an anticipatory precaution against sun-worship with the face toward the East (Ezek. viii. 15, 16). The tree of life, with the Cherubim and flashing Shekinah glory around it, represents the holy of holies; the garden of Paradise, the sanctuary; the district, Eden, the courts. Now we worship in the outer court; at death believers enter Paradise; at the first resurrection they shall be admitted to the tree of life (Luke xxiii. 43; Rev. xxii. 2, 14; ii. 7). The Hebrew has the article: *the* Cherubim. The article implies that they are essentially the same as the Cherubim well known to the readers for whom Genesis was written. The word is derived from *charam*, "to consecrate"; or else an Egyptian root, "to carve." They were the provisional occupants of man's lost inheritance, "*keeping* the way of the tree of life" (Heb. x. 20) for man, who is meantime excluded by "the flaming sword which turned every way" (Ezek. i. 4-28). So 1 Peter i. 4 declares that "the inheritance is kept (τηρημένην) in heaven for us." The sword of Divine justice was unsheathed ultimately, "awaking against Jehovah's Shepherd, and the man that is His fellow," who bore our guilt that the sword might be sheathed for us (Zech. xiii. 7). It is not the Cherubim, but the flaming sword of justice, which excludes man from Paradise till the appointed time of his restoration (Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 14). The Cherubim did not hold the sword, though associated with it; for ultimately the redeemed, as one with Christ, will wield it against impenitent unbelievers (Rev. xix. 14, 15; ii. 26, 27). In the holiest place the Cherubim were made out of the Mercy-seat over the Ark at its two ends, with their faces toward it. They rest upon the propitiation which the Mercy-seat symbolizes, and are one with Messiah, who is our Propitiatory (Rom. iii. 25—*ἱλαστήριον*). This implies that they represent by anticipation

the whole redeemed Church. They are the four living creatures who sing, "Thou hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood" (Rev. v. 9, 10). God dwells between the Cherubim (Exod. xxv. 22 ; Ps. lxxx. 1) who are *in the midst* of the throne ; the angels are *round about* the throne, the Cherubim furnishing the angels with their theme for praise to God (1 Pet. i. 12 ; Rev. v. 6, 11). They are God's executive for bringing about the restitution of all things. They call forth the powers which inflict His judgments, and furnish angels with the means of executing His will (Ezek. x. 2, 7 ; Rev. vi. 3, 5, 7 ; xv. 7). In Ezekiel, thirty times they appear as "the living creatures," just as here they "keep the way of the tree of life." They were the earnest of Divine mercy to the worshippers before God east of Eden, just as the flaming sword represented Divine justice. Their living forms in man's own likeness, combined with the subordinate heads of the animal kingdom (the ox, the head of tame animals ; the lion, of wild animals ; and the eagle, of birds), suggested the hope of the restoration of man and the animal kingdom under him to life and the favour of God. The palm associated with them in Ezek. xli. 18-20 is the king among trees. The Cherubim could not represent any actual being, for the second commandment forbids such likenesses ; they must be *ideal* symbols, such as could not reasonably be mistaken for an image to be worshipped. Their *ideal* form indicated that the heavenly inheritance is for man ; not as he now is, but as he shall be when restored by Messiah ; yet enough of man's likeness appeared to inspire hope in the penitent worshipper. When God shall dwell with His redeemed, the Cherubim, being no longer needed as their ideal representatives, shall give place to the actual inheritors of the consummated glory (Rev. xxi., xxii.). They were a prophetic pledge of man's recovery of the tree of life (Rev. ii. 7 ; xxii. 14) by faith in Him who is the Way, even as man lost it by unbelief. Adam's unbelief drove him out of Paradise (Gen. iii. 24). The thief's belief obtained Jesus' promise, "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise" (Luke xxiii. 43).

In Gen. ii. 7 the Hebrew for "life" is plural, as it is also

in the "tree of life," *Nishmath Chayim*, "the breath of lives." All animals have the body and animal life, or living soul; but the *spirit* or *breath of life directly breathed into the nostrils by God Himself* is peculiar to man, who has not only body and animal soul, but also his spirit from God. So the Hebrew of Eccles. iii. 21 means "the spirit of man that ascends, it belongs to on high; but the spirit of the beast that descends, it belongs to below, even to the earth." Man's body is the seat of *sense-consciousness*, the soul the seat of *self-consciousness*, the spirit the seat of *God-consciousness*. Tertullian says the flesh is the body of the soul, the soul is the body of the spirit. The Scripture discriminates the three as a Trichotomy. The facts of nature confirm Genesis, and prove that man's intellectual and moral qualities—conscious relation to God, sense of responsibility, and capability of imaging His holiness—could never have been developed out of lower organizations. The divergence of man's body from the brute is in the direction of greater helplessness, precisely that divergence which cannot be ascribed to natural selection. The Duke of Argyle well says, "Man's body unclothed, slow of foot, wanting in power of teeth, hands, feet, smell, and sight, put him at immense disadvantage in the struggle for life with many of the brutes. Man must have had human proportions of mind before he could afford to lose bestial proportions of body." Creative power interposed to give this intellectual and moral power precisely at the point where physical science cannot explain the sudden leap from the highest of brutes to the lowest of men.

In the Old Testament, "spirit" or "breath [רוח] of life" is applied to animals as well as man. In Gen. ii. 7 *Neshamah* is used instead of *Ruach*; it is more restricted than *Ruach*, being applied only to the spirit of man and of God. No instance occurs of its application to an irrational animal. It never includes both soul and body, as *Nephesh* does. The Holy Spirit in the New Testament never attributes *Pneuma*, "spirit," to brutes; it is the prerogative of man alone. In both Old and New Testaments, *Nephesh-Psuche*, "soul," is never ascribed to God or angels. God is *Pneuma*, "spirit," not

Psuche, "soul"; angels are *Pneumata*, not *Psuchai*. *Ruach*, "spirit," is not used as *Nephesh*, "soul," for an irrational animal made up of soul and body. Man has both soul and spirit; God has, or rather IS, Spirit.

The Revised Version of 1 Thess. v. 23, "May your spirit, and soul, and body be preserved *entire*" (ὁλόκληρον), denotes that the constituents, body, soul, and spirit, go together to make up the entirety of man. Jerome and the Vulgate make the previous word, "wholly" (ὁλοτελείς), to express this three-fold entirety. "Spirit" is dormant in all save those quickened into union with Christ by the life-giving Holy Spirit (Jude 19). In 1 Cor. xv. 44 the body is said to be "sown an *animal-souled* body" (ψυχικόν), but "raised a *spiritual* body" (πνευματικόν). As the animal-souled body is the fruit of our union with Adam, so the *spirit-endued* body is the future fruit of becoming now one spirit with Christ (1 Cor. vi. 17; 2 Cor. iii. 17). The unregenerate shall rise, but with animal-souled bodies (John v. 29; Acts xxiv. 15; Dan. xii. 2).

The original of the beast's soul coincides with that of its body, and is merely the individualization of the universal life with which the Spirit of God filled all matter at the beginning (Gen. i. 2). But the *personal God* breathed *directly* into man the breath of life, so that man became a living soul in a manner corresponding to the personality of God. This is the foundation of man's pre-eminence and likeness to God. Our present animal-souled body is formed by the animal soul, like the body of any other animal, and is suited to its needs, and to these only. This we part with at death. But at the resurrection the believer will receive a spirit-endued body; one in which not the animal soul, but the spirit will be the organizing principle. It will be, therefore, perfectly fitted to be the instrument for the spirit's free activity.

The Revised Version rightly translates Gen. iv. 1, "I have gotten a man with *the help of* the LORD" (Jehovah), instead of "from the Lord." The Hebrew *eth* expresses helpful association as in chap. xxxix. 2. It would have been better if the Revised Version throughout the Old Testament had not, in accordance with Jewish superstition which shrinks

from expressing THE NAME, substituted LORD in capitals for Jehovah, but rather given the name itself. The name Eve gave her son, Cain (from *Canah* to get), evidently implies she believed she had *gotten* with Jehovah the "seed" of the woman, or at least his ancestor, who, as Jehovah had promised in Eden, should bruise the serpent's head. Hence, when awfully disappointed in this hope, she subsequently bore another child, she significantly no longer uses the name JEHOVAH, which marks His covenant-relation in Eden when promising the Saviour, but ELOHIM: ver. 25, "she bare a son, and called his name Seth (*appointed*); for, said she, God (ELOHIM) has appointed me another seed instead of Abel." She sees in Seth only a son by nature, given her by Elohim, the God of nature. Elohim expresses her sense of God's *creative* power which renewed her hope, but not with the same sanguine anticipations as when she connected Jehovah of the promises with the birth of her firstborn. Seth also had a son (ver. 26), and he called his name Enosh, which means *frailty*; just as Eve, after being elated at Cain's birth, gave the name Abel, meaning *vanity*, to her second son. Her joy gave place to a sense of the vanity of earthly things. God rejected Cain, the so-called *possession*. God accepted Abel, the embodiment of *weakness*. It is His invariable way (1 Cor. i. 25-29).

In contrast to Seth's expressed sense of human weakness, stands the self-dependent arrogance of the Cainite race embodied in Lamech's boast (vers. 23, 24). Lamech said unto Adah and Zillah—

"Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech :
For I surely slay a man for my wound (*i.e.*, if he woundeth me),
And a young man for my stripe (if he inflict stripes on me) ;
For Cain is avenged sevenfold,
But Lamech seven and seventyfold."

Haragti expresses the perfect of *anticipated* certainty, not as the Revised Version, the perfect of *accomplished* fact ("I

have slain a man for wounding me"; rather, it is: I will pay back every attack, even a *slight* one, by *slaying* him who makes it, and will by my own power, through the "cutting instruments of brass and iron" which Tubal-Cain my son has forged for me (ver. 22), make myself more inviolable than Cain was by God's promise (see Delitzsch on the passage). Hebrew poetry constructs verses by parallelism of *thoughts*, not of mere corresponding *sounds*; so "man" and "wound" in one line correspond respectively to "young man" and "stripe" in the other. Hence Hebrew poetry suffers least in translation.

Lamech was one of those "who make a God of their own hand" (Job xii. 6, the Hebrew; Ps. xii. 4). "His power is his God" (Habak. i. 11, Hebrew). Cain's sin was bloodshed, and bloodshed was the curse of Cain's seed (Rev. xvi. 6; Ps. lv. 23). The Cainite line began with a murderer, and ends with a polygamist. Lamech's wives were the instruments of his sin; their fears and his for him became the instrument of his punishment.

The development of ungodliness culminating in Lamech having been traced, the history passes to the godly. At the very point of time when the godly seed acknowledged their weakness and mortality by the name Enosh (ver. 26), "then began men to call on the name of the LORD" (Jehovah). God overruled the open godlessness of the proud Cainites, and the weakness of the godly Sethites, to the first *calling out* of THE CHURCH from the world. The Greek *Ecclesia* and the Hebrew *Qahal* mean a "calling out."

So it shall be again in the last days, when men's words shall be "stout against Jehovah," and they shall say, "It is vain to serve God," and shall "call the proud happy," "THEN they that fear the Lord shall speak one with another, and a book of remembrance shall be written before him for them that fear the Lord; and they shall be mine, saith the Lord of Hosts, in the day that I do make a peculiar treasure"; "then shall all discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth Him not" (Mal. iii. 13-18).

Whilst the Cainites were laying the foundations of the kingdom of the world by building a city and inventing the secular arts, and if they thought of God at all, thought only of Him as ELOHIM, the God of *nature*; the Sethites began to found the kingdom of *grace* by united invocation of the name (*i.e.*, the *self-manifestation*) of the promise-keeping JEHOVAH. They looked for His fulfilment of the promise (Gen. iii. 15), that "the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head."

Delitzsch translates, "It was then that men began to call with, or by means of, the name of *Jahveh*" (as he points Jehovah), *i.e.*, call upon Him by prayer and by proclaiming (preaching) Him (Zeph. iii. 9). Bertram translates, "Then men began to call (*themselves*) by the name of Jehovah," *i.e.*, *sons of God*. Thus the mention of the "sons of God" in Gen. vi. 2 ceases to be abrupt, being here already explained. Bertram's insertion of "*themselves*" is justified by Isa. xlv. 5, when it is foretold, in the blessed age yet to come, "One shall say, I am the Lord's (Jehovah's); and another shall call (*himself*) by the name of Jacob; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the LORD (Jehovah), and shall name himself by the name of Israel."

In Gen. v. 3 we read, "Adam begat a son in his likeness after his own image." God created man in His own likeness (ver. 1, and chap. i. 26, 27): Adam transmitted that likeness, impaired by sin (John iii. 6; Job xiv. 4). In order to recover the original, we must bear the image of the heavenly, the Second Adam; as by birth we have borne the image of the earthy Adam. Christ renews God's image in us by His merit and by His Spirit. The Hebrew *tzelem*, the Greek *eicon*, "image," presupposes a prototype from which the image is derived. But the Hebrew *demuth*, Greek *homoiosis*, "likeness," is not the result of generation or derivation. "Image" applies to the Son in relation to the Father (Col. i. 15); but "likeness" does not. Both "image" and "likeness" apply to man (1 Cor. xi. 7; James iii. 9). God's image is that IN (2) which man was created (Gen. i. 26). This image was marred, not lost, by the Fall (Gen. ix. 6). God's likeness is that

ACCORDING TO (2) which man was created, to strive after it. As God's vicegerent, "having dominion" over this earth, man represents the Supreme Ruler (Ps. viii. 4-8). Freedom of will, self-consciousness, God-consciousness, and spiritual personality (God having breathed into him *spirit*, over and above the *soul-life*, which he has in common with the brutes), constitute God's image in which he was originally formed. In body, too, made not like the brute, prone toward the earth, but erect toward heaven, man was made in the image of that body which God had "prepared" for the Son (Heb. x. 5). God's "likeness" is His holiness, towards which man was to strive with ever-enlarging capacity, receiving out of the infiniteness of God (1 John iii. 2; John i. 16). Man's creation in God's image and after God's likeness looks onward to the incarnate Son (Col. i. 15), who realizes both; and to His saints' renewal in knowledge after Christ that created him (Col. iii. 10); and also to their bodily transfiguration into the likeness of Christ's body of glory (Philipp. iii. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 49; 2 Cor. iii. 18; Ephes. iv. 15, 23).

In chap. v. 1 the "generations" (*toldoth*, as in chap. ii. 4) of Adam mean the genealogy *forwards* and history of his *descendants* in the line of the godly seed, Seth, ending in judgment for apostasy, from which the elect remnant escapes. This history is a memorial of God's faithfulness to His promise. Chronology has heretofore been constructed on the theory that the sacred writer meant us to compute it from the ages of the ten patriarchs, which are severally given at the birth of their firstborn, along with the number of years which they subsequently lived, adding 100 years between Shem's birth and the Flood. Thus the first age of the world would be 1656 years. The Samaritan Pentateuch makes it 1307; the Septuagint in Codex Alexandrinus, 2262. The Septuagint plainly have added on to the Hebrew 100 in each case. The Hebrew has 130, 105, 90, 70, 65; the LXX. have 230, 205, 190, 170, 165 respectively, as the number of years before the son's birth, of Adam, Seth, Enoch, Cainan, and Mahalaleel. The superior accuracy of the Hebrew text proves the likelihood of its being the original, rather than the Septuagint or

the Samaritan statements. Their design was to adapt the Mosaic account to the accepted antiquity of the Egyptian dynasties. But Moses knew all this, and was not likely to give a chronology utterly contradicting it, as that drawn by inference from Gen. v. and xi. does. His design in these genealogies was probably not to give a chronology: if it were, he would have summed up the numbers into a computation of the time between the Creation and the Flood, which he does not; whereas he does compute the whole time from the Descent into Egypt to the Flood (Exod. xii. 40). What, then, is the use of the record that each patriarch lived so many years before begetting a son, and so many after? It is a summary of the lives of ten selected specimen representatives of the whole period, showing the longevity and conditions of human life before the Flood. Links are omitted in the genealogy, as not being required for showing the line of descent. When a patriarch is said to have lived so many years, and then to have "begotten," the writer's purpose is fulfilled as truly by naming the grandson as by naming the son begotten.

So in Matt. i. 8 three names are omitted between Joram and Uzziah, viz., Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah; and in ver. 11 Jehoiakim is omitted after Josiah. Symmetrical analysis is the principle of the genealogy in St. Matthew, which divides the whole period from Abraham to Christ into three series of fourteen generations in each: *seven*, the Divine number, is doubled, and the sacred *three* is multiplied by the *fourteen*. The *ten* patriarchs in Gen. v. similarly are chosen out of the whole series, which numbered many more links, to represent the antediluvian church in its *totality*. The phrase, "These are the generations," occurs TEN times. Numbers in Scripture express some spiritual idea besides the arithmetical value; for instance, the TEN Commandments, the TEN virgins, the TEN horns.

The Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hindoo traditions confirm Scripture as to the longevity of primitive man. The effects of Paradise on man were not immediately exhausted. Life was more simple and uniform. This was ordered by

God for the increase of mankind, and also for the readier transmission of the primitive traditions of Paradise without adulteration. We know from Gen. iv. 17 that Adam must have had a daughter; and from iv. 14 that he had sons and daughters whose families must have grown to a large number before Adam's 130th year, in which Seth was born. Yet the genealogy makes no mention of this. The regular structure in the genealogies (Gen. v. and xi.) implies intentional arrangement. Each includes TEN names; Noah being the TENTH from Adam, and Terah the TENTH from Noah. Each ends with a father having *three* sons. The Sethite genealogy culminates in its seventh patriarch, Enoch, who "walked with God." The Cainite culminates in its seventh member, the boastful and revengeful polygamist, Lamech. The genealogy from Shem is divided at its fifth head, Peleg, in whose days the earth was divided. Such regularity of numbers must be the result of selection of certain links out of the whole series to represent their several periods. For if the genealogy (Gen. xi.) were complete, Shem, Arphaxad, Salah, and Eber must have outlived all the generations following as far as Terah: Noah would be fifty-eight years the contemporary of Abraham, and Shem survive him thirty-five years (Gen. xi. 26). Thus, the supposed chronology based on Gen. v. and xi. being unreal, there is no antagonism here between the Bible and modern science which claims a longer period for man's existence on earth.

The monotonous repetition recurring in Gen. v., "and he died," like a funeral toll, indicates the universal law of death, the wages of man's sin. But the grace of God also appears counterworking sin and death: first, in that each patriarch does not die till he has propagated life, an earnest of the Seed to come who should abolish both; secondly, in that Enoch is a specimen of transfiguration without death in instantaneous change, an earnest of those saints who shall be found living and shall be transfigured in a moment into the likeness of Christ's glorious Body at His appearing. Lord, hasten the day!

A. R. FAUSSET, D.D.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

PART III.

HARMONY.

THESE considerations may be summed up in the two following ideas : a monotheistic religion alone is compatible with philosophy, which is the research of unity ; a philosophy admitting the fact of liberty is alone compatible with religion, which is the relation between human liberty and Divine liberty. Polytheism is incompatible with philosophy ; materialism and idealism are incompatible with religion ; there remains yet to examine the relations of Christian dogma, the highest expression of monotheism, with spiritualism, the only philosophical doctrine which leaves free scope to liberty. In fact, the foundations of spiritualism have been laid in a general and solid manner by the preaching of the Gospel ; but this historical consideration must be cast out of our actual examination ; the question to be answered is the logical relation between the two elements now under our consideration.

In the Christian world, the accordance of religion with philosophy is possible ; this follows from what has already been said ; I affirm, now, that this accordance is real. Harmony must not be confounded with identity. When we demonstrate that two things are one, we do not establish a relation between them, we confound them ; harmony supposes the diversity of the various elements and their concordance. We must, therefore, establish in the first place the difference between Christian faith and spiritualism, and, secondly, the harmony that exists between them.

I.—DIFFERENCE.

The difference between religion and philosophy may be established in three different ways ; by the consideration of their method, of their contents, and of their object.

As to method, religious faith is an act of confidence. It implies a free study of the mind ; for the confidence which is not the result of research is credulity, and not faith. It is without reason that some oppose, in an absolute manner, authority to liberty. Faith presents the union of these two principles conciliated in one common action ; for faith is inseparable from authority, which it establishes ; nor is it less inseparable from liberty, since nothing can be more free than confidence. In religious faith, reason interferes ; but the part of heart and conscience is considerable, and the part of will is real. Of course, one does not believe what one wishes ; but without the intervention of the will, there can be none of that firm faith which becomes the principle of life. It is so in the order of purely human relations. Confidence in a tried friend, for instance, must sometimes be maintained by an act of the will against doubts which we consider dishonouring, and which we reject as a temptation. The religious method, therefore, contains an intellectual element ; but its essential rule is to lead faith by moral sentiments and actions, and to attain the possession of truth by the research of good.

For platonism, the acquisition of truth was the condition of moral good ; virtue was the daughter of science. The rule established by Jesus Christ overthrows the terms of ancient thought : " If any man willeth to do the will of Him that sent Me, he will know of My doctrine whether it be of God." The moral action precedes the enlightenment of the mind. The essential feature of truth thus acquired is confidence in a person. The expression of faith is : " I know in whom I have believed." We sometimes speak of faith in a special doctrine ; we say of a man, for instance, that he has a living faith in immortality, or in the judgment to come ; but when a revealed religion is in question (that is the special object of this study) the centre of all beliefs is confidence in the revealer. The link which binds together all the various affirmations of Christian faith is the testimony of Jesus Christ considered as the witness of Divine things ; their proof is in this testimony itself, for it constitutes an authority

to which men appeal as to a principle in religious discussions and in the establishment of the theology of the Church.

Philosophy has other characters : it is not a belief, it is a science ; it knows no dogmas, it simply affirms doctrines. It may admit the intervention of the will (for instance, the disciples of Kant affirm that it is a duty to believe in the reality of duty) ; but the result of this intervention of the will is to maintain against doubt a fact of intimate significance, not to maintain faith in a person. Philosophy studies, seeks, reasons. The uniting link of its affirmations is purely logical ; their proofs are found in the explanation which they supply of the studied facts. The spirit of philosophy is a spirit of perpetual research, which does not end in the constitution of an authority ; its doctrines remain more or less provisory, and are never received, so to speak, otherwise than on trial. It is obvious that the difference between the two methods is real. It is of the utmost importance not to confound them, and never to appeal to a testimony held as Divine in the discussions of science. This absence of *authority* does not necessarily entail the suppression of the *influence* of the religious order upon the labour of thought.

The impossibility of replacing religion by philosophy follows from this diversity of methods. Never will a system held to be the best explanation of facts, but placed under incessant control, be a substitute for confidence in a Divine testimony ; never will a theory, the result of intellectual labour, supply the place of an act of the whole soul, in which not only mind, but heart, will, and conscience share.

Let us pass from the question of method to that of contents. Philosophy treats of matters which belong to universal experience, whilst religious dogma contains affirmations which are the result of a special order of facts admitted only by believers. All philosophical affirmations re-enter the religious domain as soon as fundamental truths are in question ; but the inverse does not take place. There are in the religious sphere certain affirmations which are unapprehended by philosophy. For instance, I meet with a Hindoo Brahmin. I enter with him upon a discussion as to the origin of the

world, the destination of man, the nature of evil. I compare my solutions with his as regards the explanation of facts, without the least intervention of the idea of any authority soever. We philosophize, even though I propose the Christian solutions to his acceptance, because I propose these solutions as doctrines to be examined, the experimental realities and the laws of the intellect being the sole rules of our discussion. But if I speak to this Brahmin of the dogmas which refer to the divinity of Christ, and which have no object whatever unless this divinity is accepted, then we enter upon questions which imply an affirmation of faith, and which no longer form part of the problems stated for all by universal experience; we pass into the domain of specially religious science or of theology, properly so-called. This basis of faith separates Church science from philosophy, since faith is the sole foundation of the Church. An ecclesiastical theology professing to acknowledge no authority whatever is a mistake. It is a phenomenon which it is interesting to study in its origin and consequences, but which contains no scientific element as regards doctrine and method.

Therefore religion and philosophy differ as to their contents, as well as in their method. The former contains doctrines which, by their very object, will ever be strangers to the latter. It would be easy to quote examples in support of this affirmation. In the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, there are many questions which answer the problems of universal philosophy—those on God, the creation, the soul, the moral law, the future life, &c., and others which are stated only within the sphere of faith; those concerning the incarnation, the sacraments, the angels. This diversity of contents in religion and philosophy is principally set forth in the characteristic dogma of the Christian faith, redemption. The central point of the Gospel, the essence of the glad tidings, is an act of supreme mercy coming forward to deliver fallen humanity from the consequences of sin. Now, this is not a doctrine supplying an explanation of facts; it is a fact avowed by the believer. It does not directly belong to the field of scientific investigation, since it must be explained

before being stated. Faith states, or rather accepts it, and it is obvious that the rational element has only a subordinate part in this acceptance. It is the diseased heart seeking health, the troubled conscience seeking peace, that lead the soul to Him who is their Saviour. Jesus Christ calls Himself the Light of the world, and this Light must illumine the whole soul. He sends His apostles to teach all the nations ;¹ but when He points out the spiritual wants which most particularly draw men to Himself, He does not say, "Come unto Me, ye who feel the want of knowledge, and I shall teach you" ; but, "Come unto Me, all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest."²

The diversity of object in religion and philosophy is not less characteristic than that of their contents. The object of philosophy is to understand, and thereby to satisfy the mind. The object of religion is found in the order of sentiment and practice. For religion, thought is a means ; truth is proposed to believers that they may put it into practice. In the religious order there is room for the exercise of intelligence, and philosophy must take the heart and the conscience into consideration, but these same elements do not occupy the same place in the two orders. If the act of the intellect becomes an aim in the religious domain, if man is satisfied with a knowledge of the truth, and does not put it into practice, then religion is perverted. "Happy are ye that ye know these things," said the founder of the Christian religion, but He immediately added, "If ye do them."³ The author of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ* develops this truth. Every man is naturally desirous of obtaining knowledge ; but of what value is science without the fear of God ? What does it avail you to reason profoundly upon the Trinity if you are not humble-minded, and if you incur the disapprobation of the Trinity ?⁴ For philosophy, conscience, heart, and will are of no importance, save as facts to be explained ; knowledge is the aim and end of labour. The difference is real, therefore ;

¹ Matt. xxviii. 19.

² Matt. xi. 28.

³ John xiii. 17.

⁴ Book i. ch. 1 and 2.

but it were a serious error to consider it as absolute. Our analyses always break up the truth to a lesser or greater extent. The soul is wholly present in all its operations, and that is the main reason why the complete separation of religion and philosophy is impossible. The knowledge of truth is indispensable to religion, whose object is to realize it. On the other hand, when philosophy has raised itself to the consideration of the idea of good, it finds itself in presence of a thought which it is impossible to separate from practice, since good is, in its essence, that which must be done. Religion and philosophy unite, therefore, in the consideration of the idea of good taken as the expression of the supreme will. If it does not lose its way, science, having attained its summit, points of itself to the necessity of action. In God all unites ; but all unites without blending. While admitting the principle of supreme unity which constitutes the universal harmony, we must nevertheless maintain the essential distinction of religious development from philosophical development, under the threefold aspect of method, contents, and object. We have still to determine their concordance.

II.—CONCORDANCE.

In order to establish the agreement between religion and philosophy from the general point of view, it is not necessary to establish the relations which may exist between the religious documents in their entirety and science under all its forms. For instance, the comparative study of the results of geology and of the texts of Genesis is a study of detail which is absolutely apart from my object. Such is the case as regards all the historical questions and all the confessional discussions which play so large a part in the theological sciences.

Let us take in the dogma the answers it contains to the eternal questions of thought: the origin of things, their destination, the nature of man, his relation with God ; let us translate into philosophy, I will not say the work of theologians, but the simplicity of the Gospel, such as it is to be found in the primitive documents, or, again, such as it mani-

festes itself in the life of believers (for life is merely the realization of certain doctrines which it supposes); in this way we shall divest of detail the elements of universal Christianity, of that Christianity whose unity is veiled by theological discussions and confessional disputes, but again brought out into the day by the general history of philosophy and religion.

Let us consider the affirmations to which we shall have attained as hypotheses proposed to the study of science; let us treat these affirmations according to the scientific method; let us deduce their consequences, and compare these with the facts to be explained. If we find that the facts are more clearly explained by the theories we shall thus have established than by any other, we shall have acquired the right to declare, without exceeding the limits of science, that Christian philosophy is the best of philosophies. That will not be an affirmation of faith; we shall have no right whatever to draw from it an immediate conclusion as to the supernatural and Divine origin of the doctrine under examination; the only right we shall have will be to conclude that this doctrine is that which most clearly demonstrates reality. Now, doctrine thus separated from dogma is spiritualism properly so-called: the term spiritualism shows its bearing; the designation of Christian philosophy recalls its historical origin. It is in such conditions as these that the question of harmony between philosophy and religion must be stated and studied. Religious tradition places before science hypotheses which are to be studied according to the rules of method. If the examination gives a favourable result, the concordance is established; that which is a truth of belief in the religious domain becomes a confirmed hypothesis in the order of science.

This is a simple mode of stating the question; but it demands, as I have already indicated, that the true method be recognized. The problem cannot be solved so long as only two scientific processes are admitted, namely, experience and reasoning. For the relation between religious tradition and philosophical research cannot be established either by means of experience or by means of argument. Everything

changes when once it is stated that hypothesis is one of the essential elements of method. Philosophy excludes dogma as such, since authority, which is inseparable from dogma, is incompatible with the liberty of scientific research ; but true method admits the contents of dogma, considered as a mere hypothesis. If the hypothesis is justified, religion exerts its *influence* over philosophy without introducing into it an element of *authority*, and the relation between the two domains is affirmed. But in order to establish this relation, we must, I say it again, modify the ordinary teaching of our logic on the chapter of method, and demonstrate that the act of supposition, or hypothesis, is as indispensable an element of science as observation or reasoning.

Independently of method, it is difficult to accept the position of the question, such as it has been indicated, and this difficulty is equally great on the side of believers and on that of their antagonists. The Apostle Paul enjoins his readers to distinguish between the foundation of faith and the diverse constructions which may be raised upon this foundation.¹ Believers often find it difficult to accept this point of view ; they have a repugnance to admit the distinction between essential and secondary ideas, which distinction is indispensable in order to discern the philosophical solutions in the *ensemble* of dogma. All their beliefs form for them one unique block, in which elements of different value appear with the same degree of importance. I once had a significant example of this mode of thinking. I was referring in a public lecture to the question of the existence of God. One of my hearers wished me on this occasion to give my opinion on the authenticity of the Book of Esther. He thought that if I touched upon a religious question, the criticism of the text of the Old Testament naturally came within the sphere of my teaching. That is not all : not only do men often refuse to distinguish between fundamental and secondary questions, but the sectarian spirit unfortunately leads many to attach a far greater importance to questions of third or fourth order which divide religious communities than to the truths

¹ 1 Cor. iii: 11-13.

which they profess in common. Finally, believers shrink from an operation of the intellect, which consists in considering the truths of faith as hypotheses liable to discussion ; "they find it extremely painful to see any one coldly examine the relative merits of their religion just as one would compare several objects belonging to the same class."¹

This repugnance is natural, and, in many cases, it were unwise to defy it. An honest man may refuse to join in the discussions bearing upon the reality of duty which are imposed on the philosopher, and be wholly satisfied with the direct affirmation of his conscience. It is even dangerous to put in question the value of conscience, if one cannot make a serious study of the systems which deny it, just as it is dangerous to have a superficial knowledge of works of medicine. It is the same as regards the questions of religious philosophy. A believer may be satisfied with a faith born of the spontaneous adhesion of his soul to Gospel truth, confirmed by his experience of life. If he cannot make of these questions subjects of deep study, it is better for him not to enter upon the discussions in which dogmas are submitted to the investigations of the scientific spirit. Superficial study and imperfect knowledge conceal serious dangers. All this is true : but these rules of personal prudence must not be transformed into general truths. The examination of the doctrines of faith considered as simple hypotheses, is the necessary condition for the establishing of the true relations between religion and science. The first teachers of the Church followed this course and demonstrated that the doctrine of Jesus Christ supplies with regard to nature and humanity, explanations which are more satisfactory for the intellect than the traditions of paganism and the systems of the Greek sages. Everybody is not obliged to make such an examination, but to dread its result would be want of faith on the part of believers. The discussion of ideas produces effects analogous to those of fire ; it consumes chaff, and purifies metals.

EDWARD NAVILLE.

¹ Max Müller, *Essays on the History of Religions*.

THE ORIGINAL RECHABITES.

THOSE in touch with the temperance movement may possibly remember a curious and interesting announcement that was made the summer before last. The Independent Order of Rechabites, who this year assemble at Cardiff, were holding at Nottingham their biennial High Movable Conference. Here it was announced that the High Chief Ruler of that flourishing Temperance Friendly Society had been making efforts to open up a communication with the descendants of the original Rechabites of the Old Testament. Certain travellers and missionaries have affirmed that the ancient tribe of the Sons of Rechab still exists in Arabia, and possibly in Moab; and the High Chief Ruler was hoping, by admitting to membership some of these Eastern Rechabites, to establish a connection between his own order and the tribe after which it is named. Should he succeed, an interesting link will be formed with antiquity.

Unfortunately, we have but the scantiest material for constructing even a conjectural history of this venerable tribe of abstainers. Nor should we be too hasty in concluding that these so-called Rechabites of the East are actually representatives by descent of the Biblical tribe. More light on the whole subject is needed. But, meanwhile, the scraps of information already obtainable from different sources must suffice.

For any traces of the ancient history of the Sons of Rechab we depend almost wholly on the sacred books of the Jews. What brings the Rechabites of olden times into special prominence is the well-known incident related by Jeremiah. But the Biblical records give us hints of their ancestry at a much earlier date. One of their most noted

progenitors was Jehonadab—shortened into Jonadab—a son or descendant of Rechab, and the accomplice of Jehu.

A somewhat plausible theory, propounded by Boulduc, would identify Rechab himself, whose name signifies "horseman," with either Elijah or Elisha, or perhaps both ; and thus the original meaning of "Sons of Rechab" would have been "Sons of the Prophets." But, on the whole, it seems more probable that Rechab was an actual ancestor of Jonadab. Some writers have conjectured, though on slender grounds, that he was identical with Hobab, the brother-in-law or father-in-law of Moses.

But whoever Rechab himself was, who gave his name to the tribe, it is inferred from the end of 1 Chron. ii. that the Rechabites were closely related to the Kenites, and very probably were a mere branch of the Kenite clan. Indeed, the terms "Kenite" and "Rechabite" are by some considered as pretty nearly synonymous. Although the Kenites were Gentile nomads, they enjoyed the intimate friendship of the Israelites. A portion, at least, of the clan, presumably the family of Hobab, accompanied the Israelites from the wilderness and settled in Canaan ; so that Hobab, if not identical with Rechab, was quite likely one ancestor of the Rechabites. The Kenites settled more especially in the south, among the tribe of Judah ; although, at a later date, the family of Heber the Kenite migrated to the north. A not unimportant part was doubtless played by the Kenites in the social and religious life of ancient Palestine. But their influence is probably exaggerated by the theories of Mr. de Bunsen.

From the fact that the terms "Kenite" and "Midianite" are both applied either to Hobab himself or to members of the Hobab family, it has usually been inferred that the Kenites were a section of that semi-nomadic people, the Midianites, traces of whose "cities and goodly castles" are thought to be still visible in the ruins which dot the desert east of Edom and Moab. As, therefore, the Midianites are reputed to have been descendants of Midian—son of Abraham by his concubine, Keturah—we should naturally suppose that,

on the basis of Biblical genealogy, the Kenites, and with them the Rechabites, were of Abrahamic descent. But here there is a difficulty, since, in the time of Abraham, certain Kenites are spoken of (Gen. xv. 19) as though they were already a distinct race. All that can be said with any approach to certainty about the ethnic relations of the Rechabites and Kenites is, that they were of Arab extract, the word "Arab" being used in the rather loose sense in which it is applied to the inhabitants of ancient Arabia. The meaning of the name "Kenite" is "smith," and Professor Sayce has given reasons for believing that the Kenites were originally wandering ironsmiths, forming a guild in the East, as formerly the ironsmiths did in Europe.

Whether or not the Rechabites and the Hebrews had had in historic times a common ancestry, Jonadab at all events is the Rechabite patriarch who figures most prominently in connection with the institutions of his tribe. It is not unlikely that in course of time many of the Kenites living in Palestine began to abandon the nomadic life of their fathers. Jonadab, therefore, perhaps noticing the luxury and licence which were spreading from Phœnician cities, made it his aim to preserve the House of Rechab, of which he was presumably head, in their primitive simplicity of life. His motives, like those which prompted the vow of the Nazarite, may have had in them something of pure asceticism; but most likely they were partly religious and partly prudential. To judge by the words, "That ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers," he would rather seem to have dreaded lest the acquiring of fixed property by the Rechabites should excite the jealousy of the Israelites, in whose land they sojourned. At the same time he no doubt felt that strict temperance would tend to the preservation of the race. The words, "live many days," may also have had some reference to the lives of individuals of the tribe: in which case it is interesting to note, as at least a probable conjecture, that even so long ago Jonadab had observed the fact, upon which, to a great extent, is founded the idea of the modern Rechabite Friendly Society, namely, that the average of life is distinctly longer

among abstainers than among non-abstainers. Anyhow, we may fairly put him down as an ardent believer in total abstinence, when he laid upon his descendants the perpetual injunction to leave wine alone, as well as to adhere to the Bedouin life. "Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever : neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any : but all your days ye shall dwell in tents" (Jer. xxxv. 6-7).

As for Jonadab himself, he was pretty clearly an Arab sheik of some little note, perhaps held in regard on account of his austerity, and apparently of a similar way of thinking on matters theological with Jehu. But beyond the little told us about his joining with Jehu in the latter's crusade against the Baal-worshippers, we know scarcely anything of him. From this incident, however, and from two or three Rechabite proper names, we may gather that both he and his house, as also most probably the Palestinian Kenites in general, fully acknowledged the Hebrew Jehovah, though they may not have held themselves bound by the law of Moses. Jonadab lived in the first half of the ninth century B.C., about the time when King Mesha of Moab was achieving the exploits chronicled on the hard basalt of the famous Moabite stone.

For many generations after this period we are told nothing about the sons of Jonadab and Rechab. But the mode of life prescribed by their forefather was evidently adhered to with Arab tenacity. After the lapse of some two centuries and a half, the incident occurs which gives character to the whole story of the Rechabites, and stamps the tribe as having been, at all events at one point in their history, conscientious observers of rules which they deemed binding.

About the year 606 B.C. the invasion of Palestine by Nebuchadnezzar had compelled the little community to quit for the time being their tents, and to seek refuge in Jerusalem. Here their presence is taken advantage of by Jeremiah to point a moral against his own people. He brings the whole House of the Rechabites into the Temple, and, setting

wine before them, invites them to drink. They firmly decline, and give as the one reason the traditionary prohibition received from their father, Jonadab. Their scrupulous allegiance to the principles they professed is then made the occasion of a reproof to the Jews, for the latter's lack of obedience to Jehovah. The episode closes with a pronouncement of evil against Judah and Jerusalem, and a prediction—intended as a blessing on the Rechabites—that "Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before Me [Jehovah] for ever" (Jer. xxxv. 19).

It is this prediction in part that gives interest, whatever may be the view we take of prophecy, to any traces of the subsequent fortunes or present existence of this abstaining tribe; although, to be sure, the words do not actually say, as many apparently take them to imply, that the sons of Jonadab would continue a distinct and recognized people, or that history would keep any record of their descent.

What, then, became of the Rechabites? Can we at all trace their fortunes?

From the curious mention of the "sons of Jonadab, and the first of those that were taken captive," in the heading to Psalm lxxi. in the Septuagint, it seems not unlikely that the Rechabites shared the captivity of Judah. As, moreover, the Books of Chronicles were compiled at a late date, some writers think that the passage 1 Chron. ii. 55 refers to post-captivity times. In this case that passage may perhaps imply that some of the Rechabites returned afterwards to Palestine. Nehemiah also mentions a son of Rechab as helping to repair the gates of Jerusalem after the exile; and by Rechab he *may* mean the Rechab who was Jonadab's father. Between the time of Nehemiah and the commencement of the present era the name of the Rechabites is not heard. Attempts have been made to identify them as, firstly, the Chasidim, secondly, the Essenes; and though neither theory can well be entertained, it rather seems that the wild, desert life of John the Baptist, who has been deemed a member of the latter order, was fashioned on Rechabite as well as Naziritish lines. Another theory is that the Rechabites were identical with

the Nabathæans; and certainly some of the customs of that flourishing Arabian tribe, as described by Diodorus Siculus, have a striking resemblance to the rules of the Rechabites. But though the two peoples were perhaps more or less akin, the theory that they were identical is hardly tenable.

What seems the most natural supposition is that many, if not all, of the Rechabites gradually blended by intermarriage with the Jews. The following considerations combine to make this probable.

To begin with, we gather that the Rechabites, or rather the whole body of Palestinian Kenites, lived *among* the Hebrews—"dwelt among the people" (Judges i. 16)—upon the most friendly terms. Moreover, the Hebrews and the Kenites had, no doubt, some, if not a close, ethnic relationship, and they almost certainly had a common basis of religion. As for the Mosaic law against intermarrying with Gentiles, the prohibition was by no means at all times strictly observed. But in any case it was evidently aimed more especially against intermarriage with the heathen, and would scarcely, if at all, have been applicable, we may well imagine, to marriage with Jehovah-fearing Kenites or Rechabites. We have, indeed, the actual fact that Moses himself married Zipporah, a Kenite woman. In addition to this, the Kenites, hitherto the intimate allies of the Hebrews, are scarcely mentioned in the Bible after about the time of David. And what is very suggestive, when their name occurs in 1 Chron. ii. 55, it occurs in the midst of the Hebrew genealogies, and in specially close connection with the genealogy of the tribe of Judah, just the tribe among whom they had settled.

Owing to the command of Jonadab to adhere to the Bedouin life, the Rechabites would not unnaturally be slower than the main body of the Kenites to intermarry with the Jews. But the name of the Rechabites also hardly occurs in ancient Jewish history after about the time of the return from Babylon. The sons of Rechab are no further spoken of, at all events by name, in either the Old Testament, the New, or the Apocrypha; and when one ancient writer does

incidentally mention a Rechabite, his words almost imply that the Rechabite was also a Jew.

This writer is Hegesippus, who flourished about A.D. 150. Describing, in a passage preserved by Eusebius, the martyrdom of James the Just by the Scribes and Pharisees, Hegesippus says: "As they were thus stoning him, one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim, spoken of by Jeremiah the prophet, cried out, saying, 'Cease; what do ye? Justus is praying for us.'" The priesthood, of course, was hereditary among the Jews; and thus it seems not unreasonable to suppose that this Rechabite priest had come of Jewish as well as of Rechabite ancestry. There appears, it is true, to be just a question as to the strict accuracy of this version of the affair. But even if a slight error of fact were proved, the passage would still suggest the inference that early in the present era the existence of persons recognized as Rechabites, and yet of partially Jewish descent, was not an unheard-of thing.

The words in Jeremiah's prediction, translated, "Stand before Me," in all probability signify, "Minister before Me," as in the Temple. They are so expounded in the Targum of Jonathan. Professor Plumtre, endeavouring to show that the prophecy, taken in this sense, has not been falsified, has adopted the view, that the Rechabites, or, anyhow, some of them, became incorporated with the Jewish tribe of Levi. Besides the above passage from Hegesippus, and some other evidence, he brings forward an actual tradition, mentioned by an old writer, that the daughters of the Rechabites did marry Levites.

All this goes to make it at least probable that part, if not the whole, of the little Rechabite community was gradually absorbed into the Jewish race. Quite likely the Rechabites blended with only certain stocks of the Jews, and the Jewish descendants of Jonadab may still have cherished the memory of their partially Rechabite ancestry. They may possibly even have adhered with more or less strictness to the old life, and at times have been still called by the old name of "Rechabites." But when the distinction between them and the ordinary Jews had come to be one less

of race than of customs, they would naturally be more often referred to as merely a portion of the Jewish nation.

Hence, if in later times there have lived people claiming descent from Jonadab and the Rechabites, their claim ought certainly not to be disallowed on the mere ground of their being Jewish rather than Arab.

From the days of James the Just, for upwards of 1,000 years, the pages of history appear to give no information about the Rechabites under that name. But the accounts of one or two travellers, to be mentioned shortly, have made it seem just a possibility that, under quite another title, a little can be learnt about the Sons of Rechab in the meantime.

Ever since, at least as early as 120 B.C., there had been Jews in considerable numbers settled in Arabia. No doubt, their ranks were largely recruited after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, which, by the way, is a few years later than the probable date of the affair in which figures the Rechabite Priest. Even in tropical Yemen, far down in the south of the peninsula, the Jewish race had secured a footing ; and altogether the Jews were numerous and powerful in Arabia when Mohammedanism arose. A few days' journey to the north of Medina, and on the borders of the Hejaz and Nejd, lay the wealthy town and the fertile, mountainous district of Khaibar, or Chaibar ; but the name is variously spelt. Here and hereabout was the stronghold of certain of the tribes or clans into which the Arabian Jews had become formed ; and the Jews more especially of Khaibar and the surrounding parts are the people, who, it is possible, were the mixed descendants of Jacob and Jonadab.

Mohammed at first expected that the Jews would readily accept his new version of religion. Instead, they resisted ; and the sword became his argument. About the year 627 A.D. he attacked Khaibar. All the eight castles, by which the place was defended, were one after another secured, and the city itself then capitulated. The inhabitants were not butchered, as some others of their race had lately been, but were forced to surrender half the revenues of their fields and

pastures, Mohammed reserving also the right to exile them at his pleasure. One incident of this campaign was the torturing of a Jewish chief, Kenana, to make him reveal his treasures. Another was the attempt, very nearly successful, of Zainab, a Jewess, to poison Mohammed.

After the death of the Prophet, the right to exile the conquered was exercised by Caliph Omar; and the Jews of Khaibar were transplanted to Syria. Such, at least, is the statement of historians. But we may reasonably doubt whether the whole Jewish population of the district was thus removed, since this is not the last mention of the Jews of Khaibar.

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who lived in the twelfth century and travelled in the East, has given us a curious account of the Jews by whom in his time the neighbourhood of Khaibar was peopled. And the important point is, that the name by which they were known to him was Beni Rechab, or Sons of Rechab. According to Rabbi Benjamin's computation, the city of Khaibar had no less than 50,000 Jewish inhabitants, while even larger numbers of Jews dwelt in the neighbouring parts. The seat of government of the Beni Rechab was at Thema—possibly the Biblical Tema, and no doubt the modern Tima, Teima, or Teyma, which lies 100 miles or so north-west of Khaibar. It was reported, says Rabbi Benjamin, that these Rechabite Jews were descended from the old Biblical tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh. But he also mentions that their Prince, Rabbi Chanan, was shown by their genealogies to be descended from the House of David. This fact would point rather to the tribe of Judah, one of the two or three tribes from whom the Rechabites would be most likely to have obtained their Jewish blood.¹ The Beni Rechab had large and strong cities, were not subject to any Gentiles, and undertook warlike

¹ Even if the Rechabites were descendants, as is not impossible, of that Heber the Kenite, who migrated from Judah to the north, it is perhaps worth noticing that the son of Rechab mentioned by Nehemiah is described as Ruler of Beth-hacerem, which is believed to have been in Judah.

expeditions. They had made themselves a terror in the land. Yet among them were many scholars, maintained by tithes, who spent their lives in studying the law. There were also ascetics, called "Mourners of Tsion" and "Mourners of Jerushalaim," who ate no meat, abstained from wine, dressed in black, and lived in caves or low houses. If these Rechabites of Thema and Khaibar were really descended from Jonadab, son of Rechab, they apparently did not on all points observe the rules of their ancestor. Some at least of their number cultivated the soil.

With regard to the credibility of Rabbi Benjamin, although there can be little doubt that he visited Bagdad, it is uncertain how far he personally explored the other places he describes. He seems, also, to have been somewhat credulous. On the other hand, he mentions the name of these Jews, "Beni Rechab," as it were incidentally; and his testimony has in some respects been since corroborated.

Barthema—otherwise known as Lewes Vertomannus—who travelled from Damascus to Mecca about the year 1503, has attested the fact that at that time there were Jews living somewhere in the Khaibar neighbourhood. He describes them as dark in colour, small in stature, and fierce in disposition.

A more trustworthy account of the Jews of Khaibar was given rather more than a century ago by the elder Niebuhr. That intelligent explorer speaks of the independent and little known community which the Jews had formed in the mountains of the Khaibar district. They enjoyed a reputation—perhaps not wholly undeserved—for pillaging caravans, and were odious alike to the Mohammedans and to the non-Arabian Jews. Members of the race in Syria asserted, that "those false brethren durst not claim their fellowship for that they did not observe the law." Niebuhr concludes that this Jewish settlement, away in the interior of Arabia, must even in his time have been there for upwards of twelve centuries. He appears to consider it not unlikely, as would naturally be supposed, that these Jews are the same of whom Benjamin

of Tudela speaks ; but the name he gives them is not Beni Rechab, but Beni Khaibar.

The idea that descendants of the original Rechabites may still be identified, and that these Beni Khaibar are they, is based mainly on the accounts given by the late Dr. Joseph Wolff. Some time about 1823 Dr. Wolff, who had gone as a missionary to Palestine, was informed by certain Eastern Jews that the "Beni Khaibr," as the name is sometimes spelt, were living in the deserts near Mecca, wandering as robbers and enemies of mankind. One informant in particular, Rabbi Secot, in reply to the inquiry, "Did some of those Beni Khaibr ever come to Jerusalem?" answered, "Yes, in the time of Jeremiah the Prophet." And Rabbi Secot read from Jeremiah xxxv., being quite confident that these Arabian Jews were descended from the old Rechabites. Observing, moreover, that their name "Khaibr" is the same as "Heber," he pointed out the passage in Judges where Heber the Kenite is mentioned.

So much is only hearsay evidence, or the opinion of an Eastern Rabbi. But not a great while afterwards Dr. Wolff was travelling over the plains of Mesopotamia, and was one day preaching, when a Bedouin horseman rode up. Having dismounted, the stranger "pressed through the crowd until he came to Wolff, when he looked in his Bible, and . . . began to read Hebrew. Wolff asked him 'who he was?' He replied, 'I am one of the descendants of Hobab, Moses' brother-in-law, and of that branch called the B'nee-Arhab, children of Rechab, who live in the deserts of Yemen. We drink no wine, plant no vineyards, sow no seed, and live in tents. And thus you see how the prophecy is fulfilled—Jonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before Me for ever.' Saying this, he rode off."

The above is a rather condensed account of the curious interview. It appears that a Bible was given by Wolff to this Rechabite, Moosa by name ; while Moosa said that if Wolff would visit the Rechabites, he would find them 60,000 strong.

At a later date—namely, in 1836—Dr. Wolff paid a visit to Sanaa in Yemen, desiring to see more of the tribe. The

Rechabites at that time were beseiging Sanaa, which, by the way, must be fully 1,000 miles south of the spot where Moosa was encountered, and 800 or 900 miles from the town of Khaibar. On his way thither Dr. Wolff fell in with an Arab sheik, who described himself as of the tribe of Hobab, and spoke of the children of Rechab as another branch of the same tribe. As the missionary approached Sanaa he was met by a noisy band of the people in question. They all sat down together, and Wolff informed the Rechabites that twelve years before he had seen one of their tribe, Moosa, in Mesopotamia. "Is your name Joseph Wolff?" the Rechabites exclaimed. "Yes." They embraced him, and told him they still kept the Bible he had given to Moosa.

Dr. Wolff was requested to remain and teach, and to marry one of the daughters of Rechab. Six days were spent by him among these modern Rechabites; and he it is who is authority for the statements following:—That they neither drink wine, nor plant vineyards, nor sow seed, but live in tents, and "remember good old Jonadab, the son of Rechab"; that "they are the descendants of those who are called Yehood Khaibar by the Mohammedans," and who at last were defeated by Mohammed; and that in their company there were "Children of Israel, of the tribe of Dan, who reside in Hatramawt."

It will be seen that Wolff's account of the Beni Khaibar Rechabites—that is, taken as a whole, including the statements he gives on hearsay—even if not in itself a little inconsistent, at all events does not on all points accord with what might have been expected after Rabbi Benjamin's and Niebuhr's descriptions. The Rechabites of Wolff have less of the settled Jew about them, and more of the wandering Arab, than have those of Niebuhr and Benjamin. And yet Wolff considers his Rechabites descendants of the old Khaibar Jews. Assuming that he is right, it seems strange that he should find them so far from their old home. According, however, to Burckhardt, who visited Arabia shortly before Wolff, the Jewish colony had entirely disappeared from Khaibar, and as the Khaibar Jews had fallen in the time of Niebuhr into bad

repute, it may come just within the bounds of possibility that, having been attacked and dispersed by Wahabi, or other tribes, they had had no choice but to adopt a wandering life. One can hardly suppose that the statements of Dr. Wolff, a devoted Christian missionary, are mere fabrications. But while the substance of his narrative cannot well be rejected, the right may perhaps be reserved to put upon the facts whatever interpretation seems most satisfactory.

About the middle of the present century, Joseph Schwarz, a Jewish Rabbi, who had long resided in Palestine, described in his work on that country the still-existing traces of the Rechabites, as those traces had come to his knowledge. The Rabbinical writings, he argued, contained evidence that the sons of Jonadab settled in Yemen; and the "Yehud Chebr," or "Yehud Chaibr," as he calls the supposed modern Rechabites, were still to be met with on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea. Some were to be found labouring at smith's work, which is, perhaps, slightly significant, if the ancient Kenites were a guild of wandering ironsmiths. The "Yehud Chaibr" were also known by the name of "Arab Sebth," or Arabs who keep the Sabbath; but though Arab in some respects, and regarded as descendants of Heber the Kenite, they were, nevertheless, essentially Jews. They lived entirely isolated, never appeared save on horseback and armed, and shunned intercourse with others of their race. But the curious thing was, that they seemed either ashamed or afraid to own their Jewish nationality, and, if questioned on the subject, quickly denied it. When they occasionally visited Palestine, they invariably did so *incognito*.

Although Schwarz affirms that traces of the Rechabites are still numerous, his particulars appear to be given mainly or wholly on hearsay, and must, therefore, be taken for what they are worth. Nor would it be wise to place implicit reliance on the rather later statements of Signor Pierotti. In a paper on "Recent Notices of the Rechabites," read before the British Association in 1862, Signor Pierotti stated that he had fallen in with two Rechabite tribes a little to the south

or south-east of the Dead Sea. They claimed to be descended from the original Rechabites of Scripture, and quoted from Jeremiah xxxv. When met by Pierotti they were on an expedition for supplies ; but they mentioned that their chief location was the south-east of the mountains of Moab. Their estimate of their total number was 600,000.

These Rechabites, if such they are rightly called, were possibly connected with the fellahin of Petra, of whom Professor Palmer saw something in 1870. Writing in the "Quarterly Statement" of the Palestine Exploration Fund, he says of these people: "They are the Liyátheneh, that is, sons of Leith, a lineal descendant of Kaab, and a branch of the Kheibari Jews, who . . . played so important a part in the early history of Islam. The Kheibari are still found in large numbers about Mecca and Medina, and are much dreaded by the Hajj caravans, as they invariably rob and murder any unarmed stragglers ; by Dr. Wolff, and other learned travellers, they have been identified with the Rechabites." The same explorer states that these possible descendants of Jonadab drink no wine, and live in tents. He considers that the name "Leith," which means "lion," is slightly suggestive of descent from the tribe of Judah, who had a lion as their symbol.

One of the latest contributors to our knowledge of Arabia is Mr. C. M. Doughty, whose *Travels in Arabia Deserta* appeared in 1888. In frequent peril of his life, Mr. Doughty penetrated into the heart of the peninsula, and visited, among other places, Teima and Khaibar. The old Jewish town of Teima, presumably the Thema of Rabbi Benjamin, had probably been built of clay. Little trace of it was now visible except the town walls, the present village being a later Arab settlement. It seems that outside of Arabia the belief in the existence of a Jewish colony at Khaibar is hardly yet quite dead. Some of the Jews of the East had still a fabulous idea of the place, and informed the traveller that the "Yahûd Kheybar" were the Beni Rechab. But Mr. Doughty agrees with Burckhardt, that the Jewish colony has entirely vanished from Khaibar—from the town of Khaibar itself, at all events.

It remains to give briefly the results of a correspondence with a number of persons whose position would make them likely to know something of the Rechabites, if such people can still be identified. Consuls, missionaries, and others, who have either travelled or lived in the East, are among the number.

The majority of correspondents have had little or nothing to say about any supposed Rechabites now living, whether in the country south-east of Palestine or anywhere in Arabia. More than one gentleman, well acquainted with Palestine and Syria, has learnt there nothing whatever about possible descendants of Rechab. And one correspondent, whose position in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund must give to his words considerable weight, writes: "To tell you the truth, I do not believe any people claiming descent from Rechab exist."

Others, however, are rather less sceptical. An eminent Church dignitary and well-known author mentions that on more than one occasion he has met the supposed Rechabites at the south-east of the Dead Sea. This is about where Pierotti claims to have met them; and the statement would perhaps rather support the belief that Rechabites, or supposed Rechabites, are numerous in Moab. Another correspondent writes, that in the desert south of the Dead Sea there does exist a tribe of Arabs called Beni Rechab. And of these Beni Rechab Arabs, a clergyman formerly resident at Jerusalem says, that by all accounts they live deep in the desert, and seldom come near Palestine. He imagines that these were the people met by Pierotti.

From what has already been said, it may seem not an unreasonable supposition that the tribe thus spoken of as Beni Rechab Arabs are the same people mentioned by another correspondent as Beni Khaibar. This correspondent is informed that the Beni Khaibar are Moslems, their usual camping ground lying in the Nejd, somewhere to the north of a place called "Reccab," in a district quite inaccessible to Europeans. A batch of them might at times be encountered in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea,

having gone thither on business ; but this is not one of their homes. The belief appears to be held that they are descendants of the old Kenites.

Another correspondent, a missionary, writes from Jerusalem : " About seven years since, we had in our hospital, and afterwards among our workmen, a man of the tribe of Beni Heber, who gave me some information about his people. We suppose them to be the Rechabites." Beni Heber, by the way, would seem to be not improbably another form of the name, Beni Khaibar ; and there might of course be branches of the tribe in different localities. Nor is it surprising, under the circumstances, if some uncertainty exists as to whether the supposed Rechabites should be described as Jews or as Arabs. According to the information given by this man to the missionary, his people are a body of Bedouin Jews, living on the Hadj road to Mecca. They are sunk in the deepest ignorance ; not one of them can read or write ; and little more than a semblance of the Jewish religion is kept up among them. The missionary, though much interested in the subject, has not succeeded in obtaining further information about any possible Rechabites.

One gentleman, who has gone carefully into the matter, mentions that not long since he communicated with a very able native of Arabia, and was given to understand that not much ground existed for the statement, that in that country there are still descendants of Jonadab. A record, however, was said to exist of an emigration of certain descendants of the tribe to some spot probably more in the direction of Afghanistan.

Another clerical correspondent, who has travelled extensively in Palestine, and lived altogether for five years in Syria, fears it will be in vain to look for the Rechabites either beyond Jordan or in Arabia. Sometimes he has wondered whether the Druses could be the people wanted.

Practically speaking, this is all the information about the Rechabites which a careful inquiry into the subject has elicited. And now what conclusion as to their existence in

modern times is to be drawn from the not altogether consistent evidence?

While no shadow of doubt must be cast upon the credibility of several of those by whom evidence has been given, it must not be forgotten that our knowledge of the history and present inhabitants of Arabia is extremely defective. Even the information about that country which does reach the outer world is not always very reliable. Some travellers, unacquainted with Arabic, have given their authority to purely fictitious reports, perhaps merely the invention of their dragoman. Indeed, it is no easy matter even for those familiar with the language of the country, to extract the truth from the Arabs, whose nature it is to stretch an interesting point, or to give misleading answers.

That a tribe known by the name of Rechabites—that is, Beni Rechab—has existed since Biblical times can hardly be doubted. And it seems tolerably clear that such a tribe is existing now. But evidently the mere coincidence of name cannot count for much. There may have been many Rechabs at one time or another after whom tribes might be named, besides the one who was Jonadab's father. In the Bible itself there are probably two, perhaps three, different persons all known as Rechab. Nor is there much significance in the fact that for the most part the injunctions of Jonadab appear to be observed. Living, as the supposed Rechabites do, surrounded by Mohammedans, they would simply be departing from the general practice if they did not abstain from alcohol; and the roving tent life is merely the ordinary life of the Bedouin Arab. Even if there were shown to be any specially Rechabite characteristic about the lives of those known as Beni Rechab, there would still be an obvious explanation possible, without the hypothesis of lineal descent from the old Rechabites. Just as the Temperance Friendly Society of this country have thought the name Rechabites a fitting one to adopt, so in Arabia some new sect or party or tribe, aiming at a rigid adherence to old and simple customs, may not impossibly have hit upon the name Beni Rechab as appropriate

in their case also. The Wahabis furnish a modern instance of such puritanic revivals.

The available evidence does not satisfactorily show whether, and on what grounds, the supposed Rechabites have any real belief themselves in their descent from Jonadab. There seems no question that a member of the Beni Rechab or Beni Khaibar or Beni Heber has once or twice asserted that his tribe are descendants of the old Rechabites. And there seems also to exist in parts of the East a vague belief that in this place or that such descendants may still be recognized. But these facts might be accounted for by the mere identity of name. In such a country as Arabia, and particularly among the illiterate Bedouins, when once a tribe had come to be known by the name of Beni Rechab, the idea might in time have naturally grown up that the well-known Biblical Rechab was their father. Moreover, we read of the Zabians, who formerly, probably from politic motives, purposely invented legends of their descent from Biblical characters. Nor is it impossible that the notion that certain Jews or Arabs are descendants of Jonadab had its origin in a like practice. Jeremiah's prophecy would predispose many to accept with readiness any such legend.

Some theological writers have rather favoured the belief that Rechabites—in the sense of descendants of Jonadab—have been identified in modern times. But others, again, have rejected the notion almost with disdain. To be sure, there is no particular reason why the supposed Rechabites, living somewhere in the region of the land of Jonadab, should not have *some* Rechabite blood in their veins. And the shreds of evidence may be enough to warrant us in cherishing that idea, which, in all probability, can never be disproved. It would certainly be ungenerous to damp the efforts of the Ruler of the Rechabite Friendly Society to form so interesting a link with the past as that he proposes. Nevertheless, if the question be put, Is it fairly established as a fact of history that the tribe of Jonadab can yet be identified? the answer, for the present at all events, must be emphatically, No.

ERNEST M. BOWDEN.

THE SECRET OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS CONTAINED IN THE "DIGRESSION," HEB. v. 11—vi. 20.

IT cannot be said that exegesis has had its perfect work in relation to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Many parts of it remain as dark in the expositions of the most recent as they were in those of the earliest commentators. In fact, so unsuccessful has exposition been with respect to this remarkable Epistle, that it almost seems as if the best method of proceeding would be to hark back and begin *de novo*, taking the instances, in which it is tolerably clear that, whatever may be right, all previous explanations are undoubtedly inadmissible, rather as indications of what is to be avoided than of what is to be followed in our own investigations.

After going at considerable length into the questions of Christ's Pre-existence as God, Incarnation as Man, and Mediatorial Priesthood as God-Man, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews breaks off suddenly at the second mention of Christ as a High Priest after the order of Melchisedek, and addresses himself personally to those for whose immediate benefit and instruction he is writing the Epistle. This "digression," as it may properly be termed, is of very great importance, both as containing some of the most difficult passages, and as raising some of the most serious issues in the whole document, and well deserves a special study in and for itself. It will be found to introduce new matter into the argument, which has hitherto been neglected or rather unobserved, but which is afterwards carried on co-ordinately with the previous subject, so suddenly dropped after v. 10, and resumed in vii. 1. That new matter is the SECURITY GIVEN BY GOD TO MAN, first to Abraham, and secondly to ourselves, the inheritors of the promise. If this be successfully done, the Epistle will then map itself out into a regular theological treatise, presenting little difficulty to the reader,

whose attention has once been drawn to the cardinal points in the digression.

I will first translate the whole of the digression (v. 11—vi. 20), introducing brief explanations from time to time in brackets, and will afterwards endeavour to justify in brief notes the many divergences from the ordinary interpretations, which will appear in both translation and explanations. Nor is the present an unsuitable time for such a course, as Bishop Westcott has arrived at the same conclusions as myself with regard to the difficult passage, Heb. ix. 15-17 ; and what I am now bringing forward will lead up to and complete what he has advanced in his lately-published edition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, when commenting on that passage.

TRANSLATION OF HEB. v. 11—vi. 20.

v. 11.—¹¹ Respecting whom [Melchisedek] our discourse is long and difficult of interpretation to state, since ye have become dull in your hearings. ¹² For, whereas ye ought to be teachers by reason of the time [during which ye have been Christians], ye are again in need that some one should be teaching you the elementary rudiments of the oracles of God, and have become in need of milk, not of solid food. ¹³ For every one who is partaking of milk is unacquainted with the word of righteousness, for he is an infant ; ¹⁴ but solid food appertains to adults, who, by reason of habit, have their organs of sense practised for discrimination of both good and bad.

vi. 1.—¹ Wherefore, leaving the discourse of the beginning of the Christ [which has occupied chaps. i. 1—v. 10], let us move on to the perfection [of the Christ], not again laying a foundation of [elementary instruction, such as is given to catechumens, *e.g.*] repentance from dead works and faith in God, ² of the teaching of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of dead persons, and of eternal judgment. ³ And this we will do, if God do but [*εἰναι*] permit. [Chaps. vii. 1—x. 18 are devoted to the mystical perfection of knowledge respecting the Christ.]

vi. 4-6.—⁴ For it is impossible that those who were once illuminated, having both tasted the heavenly gift and become

partakers of the Holy Spirit, ⁶and tasted that good is God's Word, and the powers of an age to come, ⁶and fell away, should be again renewing [THEIR COVENANT (διαθήκην) WITH GOD] on repentance, by [re]crucifying for themselves, and making a public example of the Son of God.

vi. 7, 8.—⁷For land, that has drunk the rain that comes oft upon it, and produces vegetation suitable for those on whose account it is also cultivated, partakes of blessing from God ; ⁸but if it bring forth thorns and thistles, it is rejected and nigh unto a curse, and its end is in burning.

vi. 9, 10.—⁹But we feel persuaded respecting you, beloved, of things that are better and are closely connected with salvation, though we are thus speaking. ¹⁰For God is not unrighteous [so as] to forget your work and the love which ye exhibited towards His name, in that ye ministered and continue ministering to the saints.

vi. 11-16.—¹¹And our desire is that each of you may exhibit the same zeal towards the full assurance of hope until the end, ¹²that ye may not become dullards, but imitators of those who through faith and endurance are inheriting the promises. ¹³For, after making promise to Abraham, God, [*who had previously* (Gen. xv. 7-18) *given Abram the security of a covenant ratified by sacrifice*] since he could swear by none greater, swore by Himself, ¹⁴saying (Gen. xx. 16, 17), "Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee ;" ¹⁵and thus after patiently enduring, he obtained the promise. ¹⁶For men swear by the greater, and the OATH is to them for *assurance*, the end of every dispute.

vi. 17, 18.—¹⁷And in this [matter of giving *assurance* (βεβαίωσις)] God, wishing more abundantly to exhibit to the *heirs* of the promise the immutability of his counsel, gave security (ἐμεσίλευσεν) by an OATH (Ps. cx. 4), ¹⁸in order that by TWO immutable things, in which it was impossible that God should lie, WE, who fled for refuge to take fast hold of the hope set before us, might have a strong encouragement.

vi. 19, 20.—¹⁹And this hope we have as an anchor of the soul, safe and sure and entering into the inner part within the curtain, ²⁰where Jesus entered, as a precursor, on our behalf,

having become a High Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.

Before proceeding to annotate on the passage above translated, it will be advantageous to discuss the following question: *Can the "promise" be regarded as one of the "two immutable things?"* (Heb. vi. 18).

It is not open to a doubt that God did in fact give Abraham the security of *two* immutable things in confirmation of his promise, and yet that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has explicitly mentioned only *one* immutable thing as given to Abraham, viz., the Oath (Gen. xxii. 18), and *one* as given to us, the heirs of the promise, also an Oath, viz., that in Ps. cx. 4. Why he should have left his readers to their own resources to discover the first immutable thing given to Abraham from the history in the book of Genesis, and the second immutable thing given to *us* from the later portion of his Epistle, is difficult to understand, unless there was something in the theological atmosphere of his day that caused him to be less explicit, and thus a large portion of the Epistle to the Hebrews has long remained an unsolved, if not an insoluble, mystery. I myself received a hint upon the point which I cannot trace to the workings of my own mind. I had arrived at an explanation of Heb. ix. 16-18 identical with that lately proposed by Bishop Westcott, and also at the interpretation of ἀνακαλιζέω in Heb. vi. 6, which will be more fully discussed presently; but I could not devise any satisfactory explanation of the *two immutable things* in Heb. vi. 17, although I could easily discern the futility of all the ordinary attempts at explanation. I was sitting in meditation on the subject when I suddenly heard a loud whisper in my left ear: "Look in the Testament and Testator passage." I turned, but saw no one; I looked in the passage indicated, and the whole matter became plain before me. *Two* immutable things in confirmation of the promise had been given to Abraham, and *two* of similar nature are also given to us, but in inverse order; to Abraham (1) a covenant ratified by sacrifice, (2) an oath; to *us* (1) an oath, (2) a covenant ratified by sacrifice

I soon afterwards (in 1859) published a short dissertation, entitled "God's Death in Christ," in a little volume of *Sermons and Dissertations*, but was not successful in attracting notice.

There are two fatal objections to the promise itself being considered as one of the two immutable things given either to Abraham or to us. (1) It is very awkward to suppose one immutable thing given in confirmation of another. (2) It is clear that Abram himself did not consider the promise an immutable thing at all. In Gen. xii. 3 the promise is recorded as given to him in its fullest form, including the statement that "in him should all the nations of the earth be blessed." In chap. xv. 1 God appeared again to Abram in a vision, saying, "Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward." Abram replied, "What wilt Thou give me, seeing I go childless. . . . Behold, to me Thou hast given no seed, and lo! one born in my house is mine heir." And, behold, the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, "This man shall not be thine heir, but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir." And He brought him forth, and said, "Look now towards heaven and towards the stars, if thou be able to tell them"; and He said unto him, "So shall thy seed be." And he believed in the Lord, and he counted it to Him for righteousness. God further said to him, "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it." And he said, "O Lord God, *whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?*" It is clear from this that Abram did not consider the promise to be an immutable thing in itself, but asked, as one man in those days would ask another, for a further guarantee to confirm it. Neither was he reproved by God for unbelief; on the contrary, God proceeded to grant his request by giving him the solemn guarantee of a covenant ratified by sacrifice. And He said unto him, "Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle dove, and a young pigeon." And he took all these and divided them in the midst, and laid each half over against the other. . . . And when the sun was going down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace

and a flaming torch, that passed between these pieces. In that day the Lord *made a covenant* with Abram, saying, "Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates." To this covenant, which is so strongly insisted upon in the Epistle to the Galatians (iii. 17), where Paul writes, "Now this is what I mean: The law, which is recorded as coming into existence 430 years afterwards, does not invalidate a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to supersede the promise." God afterwards added, unasked, the further security of an *oath* (Gen. xxii. 15-18), as stated in the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi. 13, 14). Neither, when the facts have once been observed, does it appear that so very great a tax is laid upon the reader in expecting him to bear in mind the previous history of Abram, when explicit allusion is made to a later portion thereof, which is supplementary to the former.

Let me add that I cannot imagine a stronger instance of a *διαθήκη*, or covenant, rendered permanent and irrevocable, *βεβαία ἐπὶ νεκροῖς* (Heb. ix. 17), or *ἐπὶ θυσίαις* (Ps. l. 5), than is exhibited by that solemnly ratified by the passage of the smoking furnace and burning torch between the pieces of the victims.

NOTES.

Heb. v. 12.—It is difficult to satisfy oneself what is meant by τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ. The word *πάλιν*, "again," indicates that the Hebrews had been already taught their rudimentary elements, but had partially forgotten them. They cannot, therefore, refer to the instruction given in the first part of the Epistle (i. 1 to v. 10). I am inclined to think that they refer to the catalogue of matters of doctrine and ritual, which are recounted, as a foundation, not now to be relaid, in vi. 1, 2. Ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ may have been one of the names of an elementary writing placed in the hands of catechumens.

vi. 1-3.—The word *ἀφέντες* indicates the dropping of a subject previously treated of, and I should, therefore, apply the title of ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος to the whole of the first portion of the Epistle (i. 1—v. 10). The writer then

proposes to proceed or "move on" to "the perfection"—of what?—"to perfection in general," say the Fathers and their followers. But this is not consistent with the tenour of the subsequent part of the Epistle (vii. 1—x. 18), which is occupied in dealing with the mystical perfection of knowledge as regards THE CHRIST, and not with counsels of perfection for the practical benefit of Christians. To this portion of the Epistle I therefore propose to attach the title, *ὁ τῆς τελειότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος*. That the writer regards this part of his work as a matter of no ordinary difficulty is shown by ver. 3, "And this we will do, if God do but (*ἐάνπερ*) permit."

vi. 4-7.—The writer now proceeds to give a reason to show the importance of thoroughly understanding the situation. For if the Christian covenant be cast away by those who have intelligently tasted and appreciated it, there is no mode of renewing it upon repentance, as such renewal would require the re-crucifixion and repetition of the shame and sufferings of Christ. *ἀνακαινίζειν* is a transitive verb, and cannot be paraphrased by *ἀνακαινίζειν εἑαυτούς* or *ἀνακαινισθῆναι*. But, as is common in most languages, it may have a *suppressed object*, just as we often use the word *renew*, when speaking of a lease or a policy of insurance, and say—such and such a time has elapsed, therefore so-and-so cannot *renew*. Such a suppressed object is suggested to us by Heb. ix. 18, *ὅθεν οὐδ' ἡ πρώτη [διαθήκη] χωρὶς αἵματος ἐγκεκαίνισται*. "Wherefore neither is the first [covenant] recorded as having been inaugurated without blood." *Ἐγκαίνειν διαθήκην* is as natural a phrase as *ἐγκαίνειν ὁδόν* (Heb. x. 20). *Ἀνακαινίζειν διαθήκην* would naturally mean to *renew* such a covenant, and the verb is found in the sense "to renew" in Ps. cii. 5; civ. 31; in Joseph. *Ant.* x. 2, 2; Plut. *Marcell.* 6, and *Isocr.* 141 D.

For *εἰς μετάνοιαν*, besides Matt. xii. 41, *μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωάνῃ*, we have a fair catena of classical passages. Thucyd. vii. 15, *ἐς ἀναβολάς*, iii. 108 *ἐς ἄλκην*, in each of which cases we may supply *τραπόμενοι*, Thucyd. viii. 88, *ἐς φιλίαν διαβάλλειν*, Aristoph. *Eq.* 90, *εἰς ἐπίνοιαν λοιδορεῖν*.

Thus, advanced Christians who deliberately (*ἐκουσίως*, Heb. x. 26) apostatize to another creed are represented as

unable to renew their covenant with God, because it would require the re-crucifixion of Christ to re-make it on God's part. "A terrible thing is the falling [*unprotected by a covenant*] into the hands of a living God" (Heb. x. 31). But note, it is not implied that such persons are *lost*, but simply that they are thrown on the *uncovenanted* mercies of God. St. Paul uses language almost as strong (Gal. v. 2): "Behold I, Paul, say unto you, that, if ye have yourselves circumcised, Christ will profit you nothing."

vi. 5.—I have here taken, on account of the position of *καλόν*, that word as a predicate rather than an epithet of *Θεοῦ ῥῆμα*, and indicated that possibly *καλὰς* should be supplied as a predicate of *δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*. There is a similar construction of *γεύσας* in Herod. vii. 46, where Artabanus is represented as saying: ὁ Θεός, γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὕρεται ἐών, "God, after making us taste that life is sweet, is found to be envious therein." This seems better than to suppose that the writer has made *γεύομαι* govern two cases in immediate proximity, the gen. and the acc., without any difference of meaning.

vi. 17.—*κληρονόμοις*. In Gen. xv. 7, 8, *κληρονομεῖν* is "to possess an estate of inheritance." To Abraham was granted the reversion of the promised land, which was converted into an estate in possession by Joshua.

ἐμεσίτευσεν. Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 6, 7. "These things they did, swearing oaths, and making God *guarantor* (*μεσίτην*) of what they were promising." Philo. de spec. legg. ii. 7: "An unseen God undoubtedly acts as *guarantor* or *surety* (*μεσίτης*) to an unseen matter." See Thayer's *Grimm's Lexicon*, under *μεσιτεύω*.

μεσίτης is thus an ambiguous term, and, as we read on in the Epistle, we find it exchanged (Heb. vii. 22) for the unambiguous word *ἑγγυος*: "In such proportion has Jesus become *surety* of a better covenant." This brings us back to the idea of God giving security to us, as he did to Abram, and that the security of a person. This idea of the security given by a personal surety is developed in Heb. ix. 15-18. In a note on Heb. vii. 22, Bishop Westcott justly remarks:

"It must be noticed that Christ is not said here to be a surety for man to God, but a surety of a covenant of God with man." This leads us up to the more complete idea, which I again state in Bishop Westcott's words in his note on Heb. ix. 16, 17: "The death of Christ fulfilled two distinct purposes. It provided an atonement for past sins; and, besides this, it provided an absolute ratification of the covenant with which it was connected. The Death set man free; the Covenant gave him the support which he required. The Death removed the burthen of the past; the Covenant provided for the service of the future." Again, on ver. 16, he writes, "It is not said that He who makes the Covenant 'must die,' but that His death must be 'brought forward,' 'presented,' 'introduced upon the scene,' 'set in evidence,' so to speak (*φέρεισθαι*). He who makes the Covenant (*ὁ διαθέμενος*) is, for the purposes of the Covenant, identified with the victim, by whose representative death the Covenant is ordinarily ratified. In the death of the victim His death is presented symbolically."

Passing on to the celebrated "Testament and Testator" passage (Heb. ix. 16, 17), there is only one point in which I venture to differ from Bishop Westcott. In ver. 17 he translates *διαθήκη ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία*, "a covenant is sure where there hath been death." I cannot find any authority for this translation of *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς*, "where there hath been death"; neither does he cite any passage in support of it. But I do find this construction of *ἐπὶ* used in the LXX. of Ps. l. 5, in connection with the making of a covenant, and that in the phrase, *τοὺς διατιθεμένους τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θοσλαῖς*. As the sacrifice of Christ was a human sacrifice, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews probably altered *ἐπὶ θοσλαῖς* into *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς* with special reference to that great and final sacrifice.

Finally, upon the basis of the above reasoning, both as regards the "digression"—which I have commented on at length—and as regards Heb. ix. 15-17, I offer the following analytical scheme of the whole Epistle, in which the SECURITY GIVEN BY GOD TO MAN appears as the pivot on which it

turns, and in the understanding of which consists the perfection of mystical knowledge as regards the Christ, which the writer proposes to exhibit, "if God do but permit."

Of the importance of the matters above considered as exhibiting a regular plan in the Divine mind, which can be mapped out in all its parts, and which keeps giving indications of itself in the Hebrew Scriptures until it culminates in full development in the Christian Scriptures, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews, I think too much can hardly be said. We must move out of the usual apologetics of Christian writers and the defence of isolated points to which objections are raised, and address ourselves to a more constructive theology, the materials of which lie ready to our hands in Scripture, especially in the history of Abraham and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

- (A.) ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος,
The Discourse of the Beginning of the Christ, viz. :
 Heb. i. 1 to { (1) Pre-existence of the Christ as God ;
 v. 10. { (2) Incarnation as Man ;
 { (3) Mediatorial Priesthood as God-Man.
- (B.) Digression (v. 11—vi. 20) addressed to the immediate readers personally, but introducing fresh elements into the argument, especially that of the SECURITY given by God to Man.
- (C.) Ὁ τῆς τελειότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος,
The Discourse of the Perfection of the Christ ;
i.e., Mystical perfection of Knowledge of the various offices of the Christ, exhibiting Him as :
 Heb. vii. 1 to { (1) Mediatorial High Priest after the order of
 { Melchisedek.
 x. 18. { (2) Mediatorial { (1) Expiatory on the part of man.
 { Victim:— { (2) Federal on the part of God.
- (D.) Practical application (Heb. x. 19—xii. 29).
- (E.) General exhortations, precepts, and messages in conclusion (Heb. xiii.).

A. H. WRATISLAW.

INSPIRED HEBREW POETRY.

THE choicest examples of almost all the highest styles of writing are to be found in the Bible. In the one Book which has God Himself for its Author, and the most momentous of all subjects for its theme, this is naturally to be expected. Poetry could hardly be wanting amid its faultless, diversified, and countless attractions. Indeed, we come to such a conclusion, not only from the grandeur of the Divine Mind which has plenarily inspired it, but also, and still more strongly, from its earthly origin. The Written Word, like the Personal Word, Whom its every letter is designed to manifest, has a human—a truly human—as well as a Divine side. Viewed thus in relation to man's instrumentality, it is an exceedingly primitive and wholly Eastern work, and, as such, is derived from the very ages, languages, and lands of song.

I say the ages of song, for the earliest ages must, in many essential features, have been the loftiest epoch of poetic thought and poetic expression. Numerous words, in all languages, which have now a moral or intellectual meaning, if traced back to their roots, are found to have been formerly the names of material things. “*Right* originally means straight ; *wrong* means twisted ; spirit primarily means wind ; transgression the crossing of a line ; supercilious the raising of the eyebrow. Most of the process by which this transformation is made is hidden from us in the remote time when languages was framed ;’ but as we trace back the literature of a country we see the process in many cases at work, and we are conscious that the language, as we recede, grows more and more picturesque until its infancy, when it is all poetry. The Bible offers examples of this. There we see the process at work in the case of some of the words just cited. The spirit

is still the breath or the wind.¹ The word describing a man of justice and integrity is repeatedly applied to a road, where it is in our Version translated 'straight.' To sin is to miss the mark, to stumble, or to wander from the right road ;² while a life of holiness is represented as a walk in the path approved by God."³

But it is equally clear that the Bible must contain much poetry, because, on its human side, it is derived not only from the ages, but also from the languages of song ; for such certainly were its Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek originals. The more I study that strangely neglected but deeply interesting and all-important branch of sacred philology which deals with tropes and figures, the more am I convinced that the exuberant use of highly figurative language in Holy Scripture is unparalleled in the whole range of literature. It is impossible to exaggerate this intensely powerful and exquisitely beautiful feature of the Divine style. For instance, I have discovered no less than some forty distinct varieties of the one figure of *Repetition* in the Old and New Testament.

The rhetorical figure of *Repetition* in all its forms is essentially a mark of the passionate utterance of the poet. *Hyperbaton*, or *Inversion*, appears in ever-varying degrees of forceful emphasis in almost every verse, till the reader catches, as it were, the tones of human utterance, and the silent written words breathe and live again in all the impassioned warmth of Eastern voices, yea, to the awakened soul there comes, as in a faint echo, the awful earnestness of the pleading, yearning, striving Spirit as He speaks through His inspired instruments.⁴

¹ Job xxvi. 4 ; John iii. 8.

² Prov. xix. 2.

³ Ps. l. 23. *The Poetry of the Bible*, by Rev. A. S. Aglen. Cassell's *Bible Educator*, vol. i., p. 209.

⁴ This figure has not received the attention it undoubtedly deserves, having shared the shameful neglect into which the whole science of figurative language has now fallen. But an attempt has

The grand figure of *Prosopopæia*, or *Personification*, in all its numerous species, has reached its climax in Holy Writ. Of this it has been well said, "The Jews never developed a philosophy. Abstraction was foreign both to the national habits of thought and to the language. The Bible exhibits this in the frequency of its personification. Nothing came within the Jews' intelligence which did not take a bodily shape. Even in Paul's Epistles, and in arguments which in other respects reflect the philosophy of Greece, this Hebrew tendency is continually displayed. In the Apostle's consciousness there are two rival combatants striving for the mastery.¹ The law becomes a living creature with power to kill or bless; charity a sensitive thing, capable of patience and kindness.² Sin assumes a terrible individuality as a monster armed with a sting, or a person bearing a goad."³

been made to display *Hyperbaton* in an English translation in Rotherham's *New Testament Critically Emphasized*. (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons. 1872.) It must be read very carefully, for Mr. Rotherham deals too much with the Greek of the New Testament as if it were ordinary Greek, instead of perceiving that it is that marked and peculiar dialect, Biblical-Greek, or, as it may well be called, Hebrew-Greek, which was first fashioned in the thoughts and expressions of the Hebrews of the *Dispersion*, and was afterwards moulded and stereotyped in the pages of the Septuagint. Thus he mistakes the normal relative positions of the verb, subject, and object, and altogether overlooks the fact that certain adjectives, such as the cardinal numbers, and the expressions for "all" and "little" are exceptions in the Hebrew-Greek of the New Testament, just as they are in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, to the rule that the adjective follows the substantive with which it agrees. There is no attempt as yet to display the emphasis by *Hyperbaton* in the Old Testament in an English translation, but as the order of words in a sentence is that of Hebrew rather than Greek, this, as the groundwork of the whole study, is that which is most needed, and which should have been undertaken first.

¹ Rom. vii. 8, 9.

² 1 Cor. xiii.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 55. *The Poetry of the Bible*, vol. i., p. 210.

The graphic grammatical figure of *Hendiadys*, utterly unknown to the tongues of the North-West, not only abounds, but actually takes a far more potent form on Hebrew lips, unknown to Greek and Latin, to which I have ventured to give the new name of *Hendiatrys*.¹ *Enallage*, or *Exchange*, now lends a vividness which positively startles when a past tense is put in the place of a future by Him who knows the end from the beginning, and thus forces upon our notice the certainty of prophecy; and now gives a rugged and overwhelming sense of grandeur in its extraordinarily frequent plurals of majesty. *Metaphor*, and stronger still, *Hypocatastasis*, or *Implication*, are constantly occurring to drive home momentous truths with deep emotion. *Ellipsis*—truly unparalleled *Ellipsis*—in the original Hebrew, “makes the grand thoughts, ablaze with God their sunrise, stand out in impressive isolation, like mountain peaks apart, Sierra-like; a style reappearing in the cry of Advent, ‘Glory to God in the highest! on earth, peace! towards man, good will!’ How admirably *Ellipsis* suits this kind of scenery of Alpine abruptness!” These and countless other figures, which abound even in Hebrew prose, justify Herder’s powerful *Prosopopœia*, when in his *Geist der Hebräischen Poesie* he says that the Hebrew tongue declares for itself, “I myself am a poem.” And what is true of the Jews’ language applies in a measure also to all the cognate languages which were spoken in and around Palestine, Phœnician, Syrian, the speech of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and a great part of Arabia.

The symbolical language of the Hebrews, that half-hieroglyphic tongue in which prophecies affecting the Church and the Gentile nations are invariably written, no less than their figurative language, tells of the same powerful tendency to poetic expression.

Again, even the reader of our English Bible must realize that Israel were close observers and devoted lovers of nature, even to the full length of a poet’s passion. But how much

¹ See my *Figurative Language of the Bible*, p. 20. John Kensit. 1888. 18.

more this opens out to the student of the original. Nations have numerous words for that which interests them most. Now, Israel's tongue is especially rich and copious in names for natural objects. In Hebrew there are seven words for "valley," each having a distinct, vivid, technical shade of meaning. There are at least seven such synonymous words for "plain," and the same number for "grass," eight for "stream," and six for "dry ground." No less than thirteen words are translated "light" in our Authorized Version. Every one of these different words possesses its own delicate and distinct shade of meaning. The Bible, too, contains some 250 botanical terms, the accurate meaning of many of which we have yet to learn.

Palestine and its surrounding districts, the scenes of Bible story, are to this hour the very lands of song. We have seen that a language is generally most poetical in its infancy, and that it tends to become prosaic in its old age, that is, it does so in its colloquial forms in the cold grey countries of the civilized North-West. But it is not so in the bright morning lands. There, even after a language has become copious and thoroughly formed, if the people who employ it, to use the words of Macknight, "possess a vigorous and warm imagination, and are favourably situated for enjoying sensuous gratification, as is the case with most of the Eastern nations, being by these circumstances peculiarly disposed to relish sensible pictures exhibited in metaphorical and other figurative expressions—such a people, instead of retrenching, will rather multiply these expressions. Hence the language of that people will be more figurative than the language of nations whose imagination is languid, and whose situation does not permit them to be occupied in sensuous gratifications. This," he well adds, "is the reason that the language of the Hebrews, and of the other Eastern nations, by the multitude, the variety, the boldness, and even the extravagance of its metaphorical expressions, is distinguished from the more temperate speech of the nations in the western parts of the world, whose imagination is not so warm, and whose climate and soil are not so favourable to luxury as theirs."

"The dry, warm, rainless season for six or seven consecutive months in Palestine, unbroken by a single shower during the daytime, moisture coming up during the night in the form of a rich mist, the exquisite dryness, elasticity, and consequent exhilaration of the air through which you can hear words in a spoken voice at two miles, and see objects at the distance of a hundred and fifty, indeed make life in the Holy Land, to those fully acclimatized, most luxurious. So also do the great abundance and variety of its productions, and the ease with which nature yields them. To which may be added the very slight amount of food and clothing required in so warm a land, and the pure and exquisite pleasures of a life given over almost wholly to agricultural and pastoral pursuits. It is impossible to exaggerate the charm of early morning and evening in a temperate Asian clime, but more especially in that driest of all fertile Asian climes—Palestine. Health and happiness are the necessary outcome of all these favourable conditions, and heighten their enjoyment. Granted a good strong government, life could not be passed under more pleasurable circumstances than in the Holy Land! Hence the liveliness of its people, the rich play of fancy in their modes of thought, and the exuberance of highly figurative language in their speech and writings."

"In Palestine, a knowledge of colloquial Arabic soon reveals the astonishing and charming fact, that the ordinary conversation of the humblest and most uneducated of the people, who can neither read nor write, and who have not the scientific knowledge of a well-taught English child of seven years of age, abounds with figures of speech which, in the West, would be thought worthy of a great poet. Take the street cries of Jerusalem as a striking instance of this delightful feature; and contrast them with the coarse, hoarse meaningless cries of our far more highly educated street hawkers. Here comes the cake-seller, calling out, 'Delicate morsels, buy, O ye children!' and next the vendor of roses, sold in large quantities to distil for perfume, with the cry 'Roses, roses of many odours!' The sweetmeat-man announces his wares with, 'Peace to the throat—palm

candy!' while he with melons shouts, 'O melon pips—solace of the uneasy!' The woman with watercresses and lily-roots sings in musical tones, 'Daughters of the river—buy them, buy them!' Here comes the baker with his tray of bread, crying, 'O thou All-bountiful! O God! Fresh bread! O thou All-bountiful!' The water-seller tinkles his little copper bowls, or drinking-cups, and calls to the passers-by, 'O all ye thirsty ones, come to the water!' or quotes a verse of the Koran which promises heaven to those who give a cup of cold water to the thirsting. The hawker of *henna*, the fashionable yellowish-brown staining for the nails—a paste made from the leaves of *Lawsonia alba*, probably the camphire of our Bible,¹ which has clusters of white, highly perfumed flowers—lifts up his voice with, 'O *henna*, *henna*, fragrance of the fifth paradise!—flowers of *henna*!' The woman with a basket of mulberries on her head thus recommends them, 'Sweet, sweet and black are my mulberries, now shall *hhalaweh* (sweatmeat) sellers die!' that is, for want of any customers to buy their wares now she has brought her mulberries! From another fruit-stall you may hear equally figurative language. 'Dates, dates of the heart! but not for the avaricious!' while stoneless raisins are offered as 'Daughters of Damascus.' Mrs. Finn heard a woman vending the produce of her vineyard, cry, 'Lovely grapes, lovely grapes! Oh, how often have the doves made their nests amongst them!' and again, 'Look! They are as good as those of Damascus which men call 'maiden's cheeks.' The very beggar calls out, 'Charity, charity, God will repay it!' and then, 'May thy mouth be always filled with sugar!' to which those who refuse an alms invariably say, 'Pass on! God will give thee.' This highly tropical language meets you everywhere, even on the most prosaic occasions, but especially when an Eastern feels and expresses himself strongly. The humblest and poorest of the people when, like our Saviour, they desire to administer a veiled, delicate, but forcible reproof, will speak to you in parables, and that

¹ Cant. i. 14; iv. 13.

often with great readiness and exquisite skill."¹ Truly the Scriptures have come from the lands of song.

Poetry is the very language of deep feeling. It has, says Lowth, its "origin and character and complexion," from the "effects which are produced upon the mind and body, upon the imagination, the senses, the voice, and respiration, by the agitation of passion." The poet is one who can conceive so perfectly the emotions of others, and so enter into their inmost feelings that he can give them expression with the utmost vigour and verisimilitude. He is also one whose fine and far-reaching powers of subtle comparison can catch the countless voices in which universal nature speaks "to her foster-child, the soul of man," voices which but for his interpretation would never be heard by the duller ears of the crowd. The sublimity of passion which must necessarily not only have produced Hebrew poetry, but also have placed it in the very first rank, has its source in the inspired poets using their imagination, and that under the most immediate Divine control—that control which all the great profane epic poets, though using unhallowed fire, nevertheless went through the form of invoking—mainly "to body forth" the emotions of the Divine mind. To them the myriad voices of earth and sea and sky—and "Hebrew poetry has intense sympathy with nature in all her forms"—were eloquent not alone of material or mental beauty, or of mere fleshly passion, but of moral grandeur the highest and the holiest. Thus the Person of God and the Will of God, these were their two absorbing strains to the exclusion of all others.

The poetry of the Hebrews differs in this from the poetry of any other people. It was essentially sacred.² To the

¹ The Author's *Figurative Language of the Bible*, pp. 6, 7 and pp. 1, 2. John Kensit. London. 1888.

² No doubt it is partly on this account that Hebrew has no epic or dramatic poems answering to the ancient classic and modern models, whilst it abounds in lyric poetry; for the epic is that which in the main deals, more or less in an imaginative manner, with external circumstances and events, and the dramatic almost entirely

Jew, God was not only the object of his worship, but the King Whom he served, Whose laws he was bound to obey, in Whom he lived and moved and had his being. He referred all things to Him, and believed that he could have no grander, more important, or more joyful matter as the subject of his song than the works, the ways, and the will of Jehovah. Hence the sublimity and splendour of all his strains is commensurate with their supremely glorious subject.

The poet, even judged by carnal minds, is no mere word-painter, no mere elegant and truthful describer of outward beauty, for the world itself has ever held that the poet's pen "must tremble towards the inner founts of feeling." His mission is to bring hidden beauty to our notice and make us breathe its delight. "The presence of a spiritual element is essential to its perfection." And the lofty exaltation and

so; whilst the lyric is mostly engaged in delineating the composer's own thoughts and feelings, and the very name lyric notes, "the connection of poetry with music in the dawn of a nation's life," that is, its beginning of civilized and cultured life. In all Gentile nations the epic, in legendary forms, comes first and notes an age of semi-barbarism. But there was no such age in Israel's literature or in Israel's life as a nation. All Hebrew poetry has been said to consist of six kinds. I. The Plain, or Evident, that is, exercises of poetical philosophy in which simple obvious matters are set forth in ornate language and with the various flowery aids of the poet's art, such as Job and Ecclesiastes. II. The Proverbial (מִשְׁלֵי), short and poetical sentences of a moral or spiritual kind, such as the Book of Proverbs, and the proverbs scattered throughout Scripture. III. The Elegiac (הִתְנַחֲמֻת), such as the Lamentations of Jeremiah and a great part of the Psalms. IV. The Ode (שִׁיר), such as Judges v.; Isaiah xiv.; Psalms xix.; lxxvii.; lxxxi.; cxxxiii.; &c. V. The Idyl, a narrative or descriptive poem written in a highly elevated and finished style, anciently a pastoral poem, such as Psalm xlv., The Song of Songs, &c. VI. The Oracle, or Prophetic poem, of which most of the Prophets consist and many of the Psalms, whilst fine passages such as Jacob's blessing (Gen. xlix.), Balaam's words (Num. xxiii.; xxiv.), Moses' song (Deut. xxxii.), Moses' blessing (Deut. xxxiii.), &c., occur in other parts of the Old Testament.

boundless beauty of Bible poems lies in this, that they have to do with the Eternal Spirit in all His own infinite attributes and excellences, and in all "the wonders that He doeth for the children of men."

Yet many to this day doubt the poetical character of large portions of the Old Testament, and our Revisers deliberately deny to the glorious poems of the Major and Minor Prophets the true form and nature of song. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and a few other short passages they give arranged in lines, and speak of them in their preface as "the poetical portions," but they wave away almost a quarter of the whole poetry of the Bible, saying that the language of the prophetic books, "except in purely lyrical passages," is "rather of the nature of lofty and impassioned prose." When we come to look at the Revised Version we find that these "purely lyrical passages" are only three, namely, Isaiah xxxviii. 10-20; Jonah ii. 2-10; and Habakkuk iii. Yet as a matter of fact, as may be seen in Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode's *Revised English Bible*, no less than some one hundred and fifty chapters of poetry occur between Isaiah and Malachi. The mistake has arisen through the action of the Massoretic critics, who marked three books, and three only—the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the Book of Job—as poetical by the use of certain accents to represent musical notes. But when it is borne in mind that they left out of this notation such evidently poetical works as that beautiful Idyl, or pastoral song, The Song of Songs, and that incomparable Elegy, The Lamentations of Jeremiah, it will be seen that their judgment in this, as in so much else, is not to be trusted. Lowth deals with the question at length, and plainly proves that the writings of the prophets are, for the most part, poetical.¹

The rule of composition in Hebrew poetry is that of rhythmical thought. The first in modern times, it would

¹ *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, by the Right Rev. Robert Lowth, D.D. Translated by G. Gregory, F.A.S. Pp. 194-232. London: S. Chadwick & Co. 1847.

appear, to call attention to it clearly and at length was the learned Jew, Rabbi Azariah De Rossi, in that wonderful age of the revival of Hebrew learning, the sixteenth century, full half the treasures of which have not yet been translated. It was probably from De Rossi's *Meor Enayim*, "Light of the Eyes," that Bishop Lowth obtained a knowledge of the principles of this rhythmical thought, which he called *Parallelism*, for he does not seem to have been aware that Schoettgen had anticipated him to some extent in his *Horæ Hebraicæ*, where, under the term *Exergasia*, he partly developed the true theory of Hebrew poetry.¹ In his *Translation of Isaiah*, Lowth has given a rendering of chap. lx. of De Rossi's *Meor Enayim*.²

Hebrew poetry is of two kinds, which answer somewhat to our verse and blank verse. One kind, that of which the greater part of Scriptural poems are composed, is not in any outward symmetrical form answering, however remotely, to our idea of verse at all; and yet it is none the less, as we shall presently see, very beautiful poetry, and perfectly distinct from prose. The smaller portion of Hebrew poetry is in verse, that is, as De Rossi explains, in lines of the same number of verbal expressions. These verbal expressions do not necessarily consist of single words, but often of several words joined together so as to be counted as one composite expression. To effect this, two, three, or more words are artificially united into one by means of a *makkeeph*, or Hebrew hyphen, like our expression "never-to-be-forgotten." Thus, in Psalm cxix. 6, two such lines of verse, each consisting of two expressions, occur, though in the first line there are, properly speaking, three words, and in the second four.

אֶל־אֲבֹתֵינוּ
בְּהִיבְתֵּנוּ אֶל־כָּל־מַצְוֹתֶיךָ

And again, in the well-known words of Psalm xxiii. 4,

¹ *Horæ Hebraicæ*, vol. i., pp. 1249-1263, Diss. vi., entitled *De Exergasia Sacra*.

² Lowth's *Translation of Isaiah*. Preliminary Dissertation, p. xxviii., 15th edition, 1857.

two lines of a verse occur consisting of four expressions each, although in the first line there are five words, and in the second six.

גַּם כִּי־אֵלֶךְ בְּגִיַּא צִלְמוֹת
לֹא־אִירָא כֶּת כִּי־אֶתָּה עֲמָדִי

or to mark this in the English rendering—

“Even though-I-go through-a-ravine-of the-shadow-of-death,
[i.e., “a very dark ravine”]

I-will-fear-no evil, for-Thou [art] with-me.”

Such poetry in verse is to be found here and there, “scattered throughout the Bible, chiefly in the poetical, but, in a few instances, also in the historical books; it is especially to be looked for in Songs, Elegies, Blessings, Prophetical Odes, Prayers, Parables, and Maxims.”

Where this division into equal lines or sentences occurs, the different sentence-members of the verse consist of either two, three, or four verbal expressions, or, as they have been termed, of Binary, Ternary, or Quaternary members. Some verses consist of Binary members only, some of Ternary members only, and some of Quaternary members only; but most of Binary, Ternary, and Quaternary members intermixed in endless varieties. Another marked feature of Hebrew poetry, whether in verses of Binary, Ternary, or Quaternary members or not, is that a word or words expressed in one of the connected members is often implied and understood, but not expressed in the other. This important form of the figure of *Ellipsis* the Hebrew grammarians describe by saying that the word expressed “carries itself and another with it,” מוֹשֵׁךְ עִצְמוֹ וְאֲחֵר עִמּוֹ. Many verses in Hebrew which appear defective as to the number of words in certain lines, or sentence-members, are thus rendered true and symmetrical. Take the Ternary verse—

אֵלִי אַתָּה יְהוָה
אֶלְהִי אֲדֹכְכָה

“Thou art my God, and I will praise Thee;
my God, I will extol Thee.”¹

¹ Ps. cxviii. 28.

Here, if אַתָּה, "thou [art]," is taken to be implied in the second line, each is seen to contain virtually three words, and the two form a complete Ternary couplet.

So also in the following words, by the figure of *Ellipsis*, we have a perfect Ternary verse, where, but for this, it would be defective.

נִפְיָרָה לְרִידַת מֵיִן
מִיִּשְׁרָיִם אֶהְבִּיד

"We would commemorate more than wine Thy great love,
[The] upright [who] love Thee."

Here the נִפְיָרָה of the first line, to use the expression of the Hebrew grammarians, carries itself and another נִפְיָרָה with it, so that the full translation of the verse is,

"We would commemorate more than wine Thy great love,
[We would commemorate the] upright [who] love Thee."¹

The importance of this rule of Hebrew verse for the purposes of translation and comment will be seen at once.

There is, naturally, poetic licence taken by the inspired Hebrew poets, such as sometimes omitting to join a short word to the next by *makkeeph*, especially when it is closely connected with it, and the use of וַיֹּאמֶר without its counting amongst the number of the verbal expressions which form the line of a verse.²

JAMES NEIL.

¹ Cant. i. 4.

² An instance of the first occurs in the following Quaternary couplet in Ecclesiasticus x. 20 :—

וּבְהִרְכִּי מִשְׁכָּבְךָ אֶל־תִּסְמָלִי עֲשִׂיר
כִּי עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם יוֹלִיד אֶת־הַקּוֹל

where the particle יֵךְ is understood as united to עוֹף by *makkeeph*, that is, as if it were written כִּי־עוֹף. An instance of the second occurs in the song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 20) in a Ternary verse, one of a number of successive Ternary verses.

(וַיֹּאמֶר) אֶתְחִירָה כִּנִּי מִהֶם
אֶרְאֶה מָה אֶחֱרִיתָם

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Commentaries. *The Miracles of our Saviour* (1) are expounded and illustrated in a volume which is an appropriate and noteworthy companion to that on the Parables. The miracles are considered mainly from a homiletic point of view, and the chapters of the book appear to be addresses delivered to a congregation. There is in the work a vast amount of learning, put together in a very striking and attractive manner. Dr. Taylor does not avoid the difficulties which lie in the way of the commentator on the subject of the miracles, and he fairly grapples with most of them; while the homiletic lessons he deduces are all apposite and natural. The preacher will therefore find this work useful as a repertory; and the ordinary reader can hardly fail to be struck by the manner, and instructed by the method, in which the several miracles are treated. In an introductory chapter, Dr. Taylor considers the general subject of miracles; and assuming as proved "that the four Gospels were written by the men whose names they bear, and that they are to-day in our hands substantially as they were when they came from those of their authors," he proceeds to work out the definition of a miracle from the New Testament. Taking in detail the terms used to describe miracles—*δυνάμεις*, *τέρατα*, *σημεία*, *ἔργα*—he finds that a miracle is not a violation of what are popularly called the laws of nature, but a work due to the introduction and operation of a new cause—a new force coming in to produce a new effect. A miracle is not the suspension of a law of nature, but rather the production in a single instance of a new effect by the intervention, in that instance, of a new cause adequate to its production. Dr. Taylor proceeds to consider what is meant by "laws" and by "nature," and criticizes Hume's objection to miracles, and shows that where it is not a begging of the question, it is simply an enforcement of the duty to examine most exactly and minutely the evidence by which the miracles of Christ are supported. This Dr. Taylor proceeds to do in a forcible and effective manner, concluding that "their evidential function was mainly for the conviction of those who witnessed them at the time they were wrought; but their spiritual teaching is for all time. They furnish us with illustrations of the deep necessities of

men, which the mission of Christ into the world was designed to meet. They show us from manifold points of view how the great salvation of the Gospel is to be received, and how it works in those who do receive it." This indicates what the purpose of the valuable addition to our theological literature was. Dr. Taylor's book does not, and is not intended, to supersede the classical work of Archbishop Trench, but it may very fairly stand beside it, as advancing the consideration of the very important subject of miracles into the domain of daily life.

Dr. Bullinger, in a pamphlet entitled *The Spirits in Prison* (2), essays a new explanation of the famous passage in St. Peter's first Epistle. He views it in "the light of the Epistle as a whole," and calls attention to the point raised by Rotherham in his *New Testament Critically Emphasized*. That commentator renders *καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι* thus—EVEN TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON, and adds, "This clause is made emphatically prominent, as though it were something surprising for our Lord to journey and make proclamation to THEM—TO THEM THERE! for additional stress is laid on the place (or state). Literally: to the IN PRISON spirits." Dr. Bullinger, pursuing the method of structure as set out in the Introduction to a Key to the Psalms, arrives at the conclusion that the in-prison spirits are angels. The explanation is new, the method of arriving at it is new, and the pamphlet has the merit of novelty, as well as of the care and sincerity of purpose which characterize the author's work always.

Dr. Kennedy has furnished, in a compact volume, what he calls a *Popular Argument for the Unity of Isaiah* (3); and though we believe that an argument for the people is not needed, because the discussion about this much debated question is, as yet, confined to the learned, still we welcome Dr. Kennedy's contribution to the discussion. It is fair, it is moderate, it ought to carry weight not only from the author's reputation, but also on account of its intrinsic worth. As Dr. Kennedy truly says with regard to the unity or the compound composition of the Book of Isaiah, "doctors differ: Hebraists differ." One learned man says, "The Book of Isaiah is *one*," and another says, "It is *two*;" and others say, "It is the work of more than we can well determine." Dr. Kennedy, by ample quotation, shows what diversity of opinion there is among learned critics on this question; and he examines particularly the opinions of Canons Cheyne and Driver, Dr. Delitzsch, and the Rev. G. A.

Smith, with the result that they do not really make out their case. On the positive side of the argument he shows how the unity may be traced backward through the Septuagint; that the second part is not known to have existed separately; he also remarks that if there be a second Isaiah, no one knows who he was or anything about him, which is very noteworthy, seeing that the prophetic writings are so carefully published with their author's names; even Obadiah's short prophecy has his name carefully prefixed. Dr. Kennedy draws attention to Professor Margoliouth's studies in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, and predicts that from that source will come more and more light on this subject. In a "conclusion," Dr. Kennedy indulges in a sort of dream or "imaginary supposition," in order to illustrate and confirm the argument of the preceding pages. We do not attach much importance to this *résumé*, and there are undoubtedly one or two points in the opposing argument which the learned doctor has not cleared up or answered. But his work is worth careful reading, and it shows that at any rate there is an immense deal to be said for the "Unity of Isaiah," and that a man may firmly believe in it and still claim to have some knowledge of the subject.

The Rev. Buchanan Blake has arranged the prophecies of Isaiah in what he believes to be the order of their time and subject, and entitles his work *How to Read Isaiah* (4). He says it is not a commentary, which is certainly true. But then a commentary is intended to help in the reading and understanding of the author, and so, if Dr. Blake's book is not a commentary, it ought to be, or it will not teach how to read the prophecy. Dr. Blake fully accepts the results, or the supposed results, of the higher criticism in regard to the Book of Isaiah. He holds that it "undoubtedly contains prophecies by several prophets, even as the Book of Psalms contains Psalms by many writers;" and he objects to the traditional views of Rabbis, with their exclusive national ideas, and of Christian Divines, who in their eager Messianic Exegesis, "have not unfrequently cast the literal meaning into the background." Dr. Blake's little work has three divisions; in the first is the text, a good deal cut about and re-patched together; the second contains explanations; and the third is a statement of what Dr. Blake considers to be Isaiah's religious conceptions. But we think these will best be gathered fresh from the Bible itself. Of the chronological tables, the glossary, and the map which illustrates the volume we need not speak; and will only add

that Dr. Blake's researches only extend to the thirty-ninth chapter of the Book of Isaiah.

The Acts of the Apostles (5) is another of the useful series of Scripture Handbooks which Messrs. Nisbet are issuing. The Author tells us that the notes are the outcome of his experience in teaching the Book of Acts in the Chester Diocesan Training College, of which he was lately the Principal, and therefore they have that guarantee of utility. Mr. Allen has not gone into any discussion of the problems of the Book he illustrates; but he has striven, and that with considerable success, to connect the history of the Book with that of the world in general; and the introduction contains much information, which cannot fail to be of great use not only to those who are preparing for examination in this subject, but to the general student and reader, who desires to have a clear understanding of this most interesting history. Mr. Allen points out that the text of ordinary Bibles differs in several places from that of 1611, and he refers carefully to the Revised Version to show where that comes more closely to the meaning of the original. Altogether, this volume is likely to be a very useful help, especially for the purposes for which this series is designed.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians (6) is one of the series entitled *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, edited by the Bishop of Worcester. It appears that Mr. Findlay undertook it in the place of Dr. Moulton, who was compelled to relinquish the task through pressure of other work; and though he issues the volume with an apology that he is the author, and not Dr. Moulton, we may say that no such apology is needed. For Dr. Moulton has not only given it his *imprimatur*, but we are sure he would be the first to commend it as a fit and proper substitute for his own effort in this direction. There is a capital introduction; the notes are full and yet not diffuse; the appendix on the Man of Lawlessness (or man of sin) is especially noteworthy. There is also a good index, which is always a thing to be thankful for.

Romans Dissected (7) is the extraordinary title of a little *jeu d'esprit*, in which Mr. McRealsham exerts his energies in making a critical analysis of the Epistle to the Romans, after the manner of the Higher Critics. The imitation is very close, and it is instructive as well as amusing. The printing has a foreign look, and even the author's name has a sort of well-chosen appropriateness about it. He tells us that when he conceived the plan of the undertaking, in this

way, to prove the Epistle to the Romans to be a compilation of various non-Pauline elements, he knew that besides Bruno Bauer's almost forgotten effort, one or two Dutch critics had questioned the genuineness of the Epistle. "When I had drawn out the argument in its main features, I heard of Steck's work ; and when my essay was finished that of Völter appeared." And the result is that "while I believe in the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Romans, I still think that I have made out a stronger case for the spuriousness and composite character of the Epistle than the real critics doubtless themselves have done." "The reader," says Mr. McRealsham, "will draw his own moral," and if the reader is of our opinion, the moral will be that such exercises had better be left alone.

The Book of Leviticus (8) is in many ways a very difficult portion of the Pentateuch to deal with from an expositor's point of view ; and, therefore, preachers and teachers, and other Bible students and readers besides, will be thankful to have Dr. Kellogg's Commentary, which will form a most useful portion of that great enterprise, *The Expositor's Bible*, which has been so ably edited by Dr. Robertson Nicoll. Dr. Kellogg grapples with the difficulties of the Leviticus in a manner at once moderate and satisfactory. His remarks upon the Azazel, Leprosy, the Ban, Divorce, and other matters will be read with great interest, and everywhere he has shown how the teaching of this book may be applied to modern life and daily requirements. In his learned introduction he has made a quiet but effective onslaught upon the Higher Criticism, which has so fiercely attacked this book ; and he shows clearly what an impudent forgery Leviticus must be if it be not what it claims for itself. Moreover, Dr. Kellogg shows how our Lord quotes this book, and quotes it as authoritative in a way that He could not had He known it was a work written *ex post facto*. So He must either be ignorant or disingenuous, an alternative which Kuenen puts thus : "We must either cast aside as worthless our dearly-bought scientific method, or we must for ever cease to acknowledge the authority of the New Testament in the domain of the exegesis of the Old." Dr. Kellogg claims a more than ordinary attention for the Book of Leviticus now, when social and governmental questions have come to the front as they never have done before. On all social questions, such as the relation of civil government to religion, the question of the rights of labour and capital, of land-holding, marriage and divorce, with its kindred evils, all are claiming more notice than ever ; and upon them all this

book casts a flood of light into which our modern law-makers would do well to come and walk. That being so, it need hardly be added that this volume is a grand storehouse for "the preacher for the times" to gather from.

The Biblical Illustrator (9) to St. John bids fair to be a worthy companion of the previous volumes of this very useful series of commentaries. The first volume contains illustrations for every verse of the first seven chapters, and these are taken from a great variety of sources, all culled and collected with great care and discrimination. It would probably be difficult to say what are the particular views set forth; but the tone is mainly evangelical with a liberal margin. The introduction is very good, and wonderfully constructed, seeing that it consists entirely of opinions and remarks gathered from all quarters. A preacher who has these volumes of *The Biblical Illustrator* on his shelves need never be at a loss in the preparation of discourses.

The first volume of *Lessons to an Adult Bible Class on the Life of Christ* (10) is a somewhat bulky book, which is fairly described by its title. The authoress conducted a Bible class for nearly nine years, and claims that these lessons differ in some ways from all productions of a kindred character. They are a sort of amplified "Line upon Line"—very simple, and not at all striking in any way. We do not quite know why they should be printed, for any one who should essay to conduct a Bible class ought at least to be able to give such information as is here set down; and though these Lessons may interest some adult readers, we are inclined to think that they had better be recommended to read the New Testament. As regards the order of events, Mrs. Milner has followed Cradock's "Harmony."

Dr. John Taylor has collected *The Masoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Book of Micah* (11), and has set forth the result of his labours in a volume which students will find useful. He shows that the Masoretic Text is in many passages corrupt, and that the ancient versions supply a considerable amount of help in restoring the original; but he adds that in more than one instance it is impossible to arrive at anything like assured conviction. Enquiry proves that the Septuagint ought not to be credited with such overwhelming influence over the other versions as is commonly supposed. Dr. Taylor acknowledges himself indebted to the labours of Ryssel, Cornill, Delitzsch, Martianay, and others. The essay is a learned one for the consideration and use of the learned; it is in no sense a popular work, though we gladly acknowledge the utility of such exercises.

Miscellaneous. *The Blessed Dead in Paradise* (12) has a preface by Dr. Bell, who says that the author has treated the subject "of the intermediate state with great freshness and originality and a considerable amount of learning." But we cannot find that he has very much advanced the knowledge of the subject. He undoubtedly "shows an acquaintance with the Ante-Nicene and certain of the later Fathers and the scholastic writers; and the words in which he clothes his thoughts are often full of a tender beauty." So much so that the work is rather fitted to be put into the hands of mourning relatives, than to be consulted as an authoritative treatise on a subject of perennial interest. Mr. Walker traverses some of Canon Luckcock's opinions and statements; and on the whole supports what may be called the more ancient views on the intermediate state. But he always speaks in an undertone, and so he often disappoints by not being decided enough in his views. "Of the occupations of Paradise," he says, "we have no sure knowledge. It must be pre-eminently a place of immediate communion. It may be a preparation of quiet rest for the service of the Beatific Life. "It must have its own holy solemnities, as a choir railed in from the lower worship of this imperfect life, &c., which of course is but conjecture. The ruling idea is that what our Lord said to the penitent thief, is, in fact, said to all true believers at all times. With regard to the interpretation of the famous passage in 1 St. Peter iii. 18, about preaching to the spirits in prison, Mr. Walker shows that the patristic writers are in a state of absolute confusion; it is, however, instructive to read the passages which he has collated, and most likely a candid reader will come to the same conclusion as Mr. Walker does on this matter. Mr. Walker's arguments against prayers for the dead are forcible and calmly stated; and the passages relating to the catacombs and the inscriptions to be found there are very interesting. Mr. Walker is not a slashing controversialist, but his work is worthy of commendation, for its quiet tone, its reverent judgment of things, and for the way in which he "holds to the written Word."

The Eucharist (13) is a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in connection with the Lincoln Judgment, in which the author tries to show that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has not the sacramental attributes which the High Church Party try to endow it with. But it is an *ex parte* statement entirely.

The Cathedral Prayer Book 14). Those who are in the habit of attending choral services will gladly welcome the *The Cathedral Prayer Book*, edited by such competent hands as those of Sir John Stainer and Mr. William Russell, assisted by Mr. Henry King. It seems somewhat strange that no one up till now should have provided a single manual which should cover all that is necessary for the choral rendering of at least those portions of the Church of England services which are less liable to variation. The portions of the Psalms and Canticles adopted is that known as "The Cathedral Psalter," and a useful explanation of the system is furnished. The days in which the Prayers, Versicles, and Responses are set have been judiciously chosen, and would suit the majority of choirs; but if any alteration of pitch be desired it can readily be made by transposing the accompaniments as occasion requires—a process which a skilled or experienced organist could do at sight. The book is well printed on good but thin paper, and every feature in it shows painstaking and intelligent editorship.

(1) *The Miracles of our Saviour*. By William M. Taylor, D.D., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

(2) *The Spirits in Prison*. By the Rev. E. W. Bullinger, D.D. Published by the Author at 7, St. Paul's Churchyard. 1891. Price 6d.

(3) *A Popular Argument for the Unity of Isaiah*. By John Kennedy, M.A., D.D. London: James Clarke & Co. 1891.

(4) *How to Read Isaiah*. By Buchanan Blake, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891. Price 2s. 6d.

(5) *The Acts of the Apostles*. By Rev. A. J. C. Allen, M.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1891.

(6) *The Epistles to the Thessalonians*. By the Rev. Geo. G. Findlay, B.A. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1891.

(7) *Romans Dissected*. By E. D. McRealsham. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891. Price 2s.

(8) *The Book of Leviticus*. By the Rev. L. H. Kellogg, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891. Price 7s. 6d.

(9) *The Biblical Illustrator*: St. John. Vol. 1. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co. Price 7s. 6d.

(10) *Lessons to an Adult Bible Class on the Life of Christ*. Vol. i. By R. Milner. London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

(11) *The Masoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Book of Micah*. By John Taylor, D.Lit., M.A. (Lond.). London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1891.

(12) *The Blessed Dead in Paradise*. By James E. Walker, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

(13) *The Eucharist*. By Anglicanus. London: Williams and Norgate. 1891.

(14) *The Cathedral Prayer Book*. Edited by Sir John Stainer, M.A., Mus. Doc., Oxon., and William Russell, M.A., Mus. Bac., Oxon. London and New York: Novello, Ewer & Co.

THE CHRISTIAN UNDER REVIEW SERIES (1).

THERE is a good deal more to be learnt than is usually supposed in the plain practical region of the Christian life. There are really vast tracks, unexplored or only partially explored, in the domain of personal religion. Theological treatises conduct to its borders; tracts and leaflets point to yonder land of privilege; books of devotion give minute often-crippling rules for the round of spiritual exercises; but how few are the books or booklets which show the Christian his responsibilities and duties, his privileges and influence, or his sphere of opportunity along the entire course from its start until the goal is reached. We therefore heartily congratulate Messrs. Nisbet & Co. on their undertaking to issue books, twelve in number, entitled, *The Christian Under Review*.

This series can fairly lay claim to several distinctive and excellent features. As far as can be ascertained, there exists no attempt to present in a connected and compact form the Christian as he really is or should be in a living work-a-day world, and to assist him to know himself as such, and others to see his unique and important position in the framework of human society as well as his lofty standard and high destinies. Of the subjects actually treated there is one group entrusted to the care of Dr. James M'Cann, which perhaps has hitherto not been regarded sufficiently as a distinct field of investigation. The three booklets entitled, *The Intellectual Culture of the Christian*, *The Emotional Culture of the Christian*, and *The Moral Culture of the Christian*, would alone justify the publication of the series, and have opened up a fresh and fertile branch of religious knowledge. Though many of the subjects, such as *The Start of the Christian*, *The Progress of the Christian*, and *The Inheritance of the Christian*, have received separate treatment elsewhere, still here they are dealt with by able and practised religious writers, with a breadth of thought and in a style suited to a scientific and cultured age. There is a noteworthy absence from the pages of this series of that conventional and nauseating religious phraseology characterising books which are the offspring of a vitiated taste and an ill-informed

(1) *The Christian's Start*. By William Lefroy, D.D., Dean of Norwich, sometime Donnellan Lecturer, University of Dublin. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1891.

The Moral Culture of the Christian. By the Rev. James M'Cann, D.D. 1891. Ten other volumes to follow.

and poorly equipped mind, and that lazy fanticism by which many well-meaning but deluded persons imagine that the spiritual can dispense with the care and pains necessary for accuracy of thought, precision of expression, and felicitous presentation of truth. If the two volumes to hand are a fair sample of the rest, several religious subjects which usually are regarded as threadbare are so viewed in relation to current phases of thought that the reader's attention is not likely to flag. Of course these booklets do not profess to be exhaustive treatises, but there is a surprising amount of matter compressed within a small compass by skilful arrangement, and by admirable literary self-repression. The demand of the day, that a writer who has taken well-nigh a life time to master a subject is to tell all about it in ten minutes, is not of course realized, but something of the kind has been effected.

This series deserves to command a very wide circulation, for it is adapted for several classes of minds and for many practical purposes. Intelligent Christians of all types and temperaments would do well to read them in order to promote healthful religious culture, and to obtain stimulus to increased useful service. Persons, too, who have doubts or misgivings as to whether Christianity can hold its own in the future should carefully study the topics handled in order to see that the religion of the Cross is capable of adapting itself to all true modern progress in thought or action ; and, further, that the Christian, if true to his avocation, has priceless and matchless possessions.

Again, we should imagine that clergy in the early days of their ministry, and also practised preachers, might find in each volume manifold seed-thoughts for their pulpit efforts. With reference to minor points, the series is well got up, and the volumes are very handy to put in the pocket ; and, what for some is no small matter, the print is excellent. In this last decade of the nineteenth century we require religious books of this high style of composition if an educated and cultured public is to read them. Sacred literature in all its departments must be of the very best possible if it is to maintain its hold upon the rising generation. This is not usually sufficiently considered by those who issue religious booklets.

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THE QUESTION OF INSPIRATION *IN ITS BEARING ON THE DOCTRINES OF GRACE.*

HOWEVER Christian men may differ respecting the nature and extent of Inspiration, they are all agreed in regard to its importance. In the estimate of all it is looked upon as presenting the gravest question the Church has ever encountered. Nor is this estimate of its importance to be wondered at when we consider the relation which this question sustains to all the doctrines of Revelation. There is no question respecting the Being and Attributes of God, the mode of the Divine subsistence in Three Persons, the origin and original state of man, the Fall and the state into which it brought mankind, the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace, the Atonement and Intercession of Christ, the Office of the Holy Spirit, the nature and prerogatives of the Church and her Unity as the one body of Christ, the doom and destiny of the finally impenitent—there is not one of these questions of which the solution does not depend absolutely upon the testimony of the Bible. Within the sacred Volume, and there alone, have we any reliable information on any of these subjects.

It must, therefore, be manifest that all questions in regard to the trustworthiness of the Sacred Record are questions in regard to the very foundation of Christianity. When a passage from this Record is adduced in support of a particular view on any of these subjects, the question arises, of necessity, on what ground is it brought into court, and why should it have any weight in determining the issue? As the ultimate authority on all such questions is God Himself, the claim of the passage to take part in the decision must depend upon the fact that it gives utterance to the voice of God. Of course this claim raises the question of the relation of the words of the passage to God, and carries us at once into the very heart of the question of Inspiration.

In entering upon the discussion of this question it is necessary to clear the subject of some misconceptions which have proved a source of much confusion of thought, and have led to much doubtful disputation. One or other of these misconceptions is revealed by almost every opponent of the doctrine of the Plenary, Verbal, Inspiration of Holy Writ. Writers of this class assume that such Inspiration implies the doctrine of Verbal dictation. That is, that the Holy Spirit dictated to the sacred writers the words they were to employ in committing to writing, or in giving oral utterance to, the facts or doctrines they were commissioned to communicate to men. This misconception has ruled Prebendary Row in discussing this subject, and has determined him in rejecting, as untenable, the doctrine of an Inspiration which extends to the Words of Scripture. Perhaps the most striking instance of this particular misconception is presented in the impassioned denunciation of the Verbal theory by Coleridge, in his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. The following are the terms of this now celebrated denunciation. "All the miracles which the legends of monk or rabbi contain can scarcely be put in competition, on the score of complication, inexplicableness, the absence of all intelligible use or purpose, and of circuitous self-frustration, with those that must be assumed by the maintainers of this doctrine, in order

to give effect to the series of miracles by which all the nominal composers of the Hebrew nation before the time of Ezra, of whom there are any remains, were successively transformed into automaton compositors." It would be difficult to find a better example of the *ignoratio elenchi* than that furnished in the foregoing sentence. Its author assumes, that according to the Verbal theory the sacred writers were transformed into automaton compositors, while the theory proceeds upon no such assumption. All that the theory assumes is, that the Holy Spirit, who breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life and constituted him a living soul, has access to the souls of men, and can determine their thoughts and volitions. No intelligent advocate of the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration professes to know how the Spirit of God does this, as it may be assumed that Coleridge himself would not have claimed to know how the Spirit imparted intellectual and moral life to the lifeless form of the first man. In fact, no one knows how God does anything; but our ignorance of the τὸ πᾶς does not justify the conclusion that we are ignorant of the τὸ ὅτι.

It is pleasing to cherish the persuasion that good men who are in the habit of quoting the above sentence of Coleridge, and endorsing it as conclusive against the Verbal theory of Inspiration, would shrink from applying the principle which underlies it to the doctrines of Grace. Strip the Coleridgean criticism of the assumption that the Holy Spirit cannot work in the souls of men to will and to do of His own good pleasure, and it is bereft of all point or power. On this assumption it manifestly proceeds. It assumes that even the Author of man's faculties, including his will, cannot determine what his volitions shall be except by an interference with the action of that faculty, which would be destructive of his freedom as a moral agent. If this be a valid principle, what becomes of the Scripture doctrine of Regeneration, Repentance, and Sanctification? Can a man whose heart is at enmity against God turn from sin, which he loves, to God, whom he hates, before he is born from above? If the principle be valid, how is it that the Divine action in the

enlightenment of those whose minds are blinded by the god of this world is likened to the act of God in the original creation of light? If the principle be valid, how can the power by which those dead in trespasses and sins are quickened into spiritual life find its analogue in the mighty power put forth in the resurrection and enthronement of Christ, and the subjugation of all things to His sway? Did this mighty power transform the subjects of it into unconscious *automata*?

The question at issue here marks one of the turning points in Theology. One school of theologians hold, that when God created free moral agents He thereby limited Himself, in His government of them, to the operation of motives. Any influence which rewards or punishments can exert is allowable, but any direct determining action on the part even of God Himself is out of place in the sphere of free moral agency. (See Birks on *The Difficulties of Belief*). This view of moral agency, when analyzed and carried out to its legitimate consequences, must resolve itself into blank Pelagianism, resting, as it does, upon the assumption that ability is the condition and measure of responsibility—an assumption ethically unchallengeable in speaking of unfallen moral agents, but utterly erroneous and deceptive in treating of such agents as fallen. The only point of difference between Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism is, that the former holds that man possesses the requisite ability in virtue of his constitution as a free responsible agent, while the latter holds that the requisite ability is the result of a grace common to all men. Both hold that, apart from ability to obey the Divine mandates, there can be no righteous claim for obedience, and, consequently, no moral obligation. As semi-Pelagianism conditions moral obligation upon the impartation of grace, it of course follows that if God would exact obedience He must impart the needed grace. It is manifest that the grace communicated, under such conditions, is no longer grace, else obligation is no longer obligation. What God is under obligation to do cannot be represented as an act of grace.

The principle of Coleridge's objection to the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration, therefore, involves grave theological consequences. It is manifestly subversive of the Scripture doctrine of the work of the Holy Spirit in the application of Redemption. It is impossible to hold it, and at the same time to hold intelligently what the Scriptures teach respecting man's natural state as the subject of spiritual death, and the agency of the Spirit in renewing the human will. All objections against the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration based upon the prerogatives of man's will, viewed as an isolated, self-determining power, must lie with equal force against the doctrine that faith and repentance are the gifts of God, and are wrought in the soul by the omnipotent, life-giving agency of the Holy Ghost, who works both to will and to do of His own good pleasure, making the subjects of His working willing in the day of His power. Coleridge is at home when on board the mystic ship of the "Ancient Mariner," but he is manifestly out of place when he assumes command of the bark of Critical Theological Speculation. The doom of the ill-fated craft which dissolved beneath the "Ancient Mariner," leaving not a wrack behind, lingers on the track of the Critical bark under such unscientific guidance; but the deplorable evil is that, in the meantime, the story of its mystic motion, "without or wave, or wind," under the weird spell of its Captain's enchantment, may detain many a wedding guest on his way to the spiritual marriage feast.

Another very common misconception confounds Inspiration with Revelation, the material of the Record with the recording of it. The opponents of Verbal Inspiration ask its advocates, "Do you mean to tell us that a Record, embracing the words of wicked men and demons, a Record detailing such wayward experiences as Solomon has recounted in the Book of Ecclesiastes, has been given, in its totality, by Divine Inspiration?" Such questions are urged with a confidence which shows that those who urge them regard them as unanswerable, and absolutely conclusive against the Verbal theory. One thing such questions do certainly show—they

show that the questioners do not understand the question they have undertaken to discuss. No one who understands the real point at issue would ever think of putting any such questions. It does not follow because the language of wicked men, or of demons, or the history of Solomon's sinful courses are not matters of Revelation, stamped with Divine approval, that therefore the recording of such language and such experiences was not entered upon and executed by Divine authority. Or, to give this objection its widest scope and comprehension, it does not follow because the incidents of human history upon the theatre of time and under the eye of the historian are not matters of supernatural Revelation, that therefore the Scripture Record, of which they form so large a part, is not a Record Divinely inspired. The ultimate question here is, Were these historical incidents placed on record by Divine authority, or were the sacred writers left to choose what species and what amount of material should constitute the main body of a book which was to give the history of the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, and serve the Church of God as the Rule of faith and practice to the end of time? This is the only admissible question in this controversy, and it admits of but one answer. The sacred writers were infallibly guided in the selection of all such materials, and were preserved from placing anything on record which was not intended by God to constitute a part of the Sacred Volume. The agency of the Spirit in the instruction of the writers in regard to the material of the communication they were commissioned to make, comes under the head of *Revelation*, while His agency in determining the form of the record, and the words in which the communication has been expressed, comes under the head of *Inspiration*. When the sacred writer placed on record the words of Satan in the temptation of Eve, he had the authority of the Holy Spirit for doing so; and it was by the same authority that the language of Satan in the temptation of our Lord was embodied in the history of His earthly life. The Spirit has not set His seal to the character of the language employed by the tempter, but He has set His seal to the trustworthiness of the record

of it as made under His own authority by the inspired penmen. The result is that the entire Record, irrespective of the character of the ideas or facts recorded, is the word of God.

Closely connected with these misconceptions is the objection founded on the diversity of style among the sacred writers. It is alleged that if the Holy Spirit actually exercised an influence which determined the words of the utterance, or the record of the subjects of His inspiration, He, and not they, was the real author of the utterance or the record, and the style would be uniform from Genesis to Revelation, from Moses to John. As the Sacred Volume exhibits no such uniformity, it is argued that the Spirit could not have sustained such relation to the agents He employed. In treating of the charge made by Coleridge against Verbal Inspiration, the fundamental principle of this objection has been dealt with. It assumes, as his denunciation does, that the Holy Spirit cannot determine the volitions of a free moral agent without destroying his freedom and converting him into an *automaton*. The bearing of this principle upon the doctrines of Grace, it is hoped, has been made sufficiently clear already, but it may not be out of place to examine this same principle in its relation to this specific objection.

At the outset, let it be observed that the objection assumes that the Holy Spirit has but one style of operation, and must always keep by that style no matter what His subject may be. It may well be asked, On what authority is this assumption based? Does it meet with any countenance from His style of working in the domain of earth's *fauna* or *flora*, or in the resplendent glories of the sidereal array? The earth, with its teeming diversities of forms, and the heavens, which His omnipotent power has garnished with splendours sufficient to entrance and fill with rapture the loftiest intellects, unite in proclaiming the unity of the worker and the diversity of His operations. Indeed it cannot be claimed that even a human author is limited to one unvarying style. Limited as the human faculties are, the history of human authorship proves that the

same writer can vary his style according to the variety of themes of which he treats, now lingering in the humble vale of unpretentious prose, and anon inspired by some grand conception, scaling the loftiest heights of impassioned poetic utterance. Are we to recognize such variant powers as attributes of human authorship, and, in the same breath, assert that the Author of all the powers possessed by man is destitute of any such versatility in giving utterance to the deep things of God? It is but charitable to assume that those who would so limit the Holy One of Israel have really not taken into account the theological consequences of such limitation. Only grant that the Holy Spirit is the same in substance and equal in power and glory with the Father and the Son, and all such objections are seen at once to be as irrelevant as they are irreverent.

Those who advance this objection overlook the agency of the Spirit in fashioning and training for their specific work the agents whom it was His purpose to employ in the production of the sacred Record. His selection of the agents was not an *ex post facto* determination. He did not wait till one chanced to appear suiting His purpose and fitted for the execution of it by a constitution and culture produced independent of His agency. Having, in infinite wisdom, determined to furnish His Church with a Revelation invested with all the attraction wherewith diversity of style could clothe it, He, at the same time, determined to create, and cultivate by His grace and providence, the men by whose agency this gracious purpose was to be carried into execution. Just as He raised up an Aholiab, a Bezaleel, and a Hiram, to execute the heaven-revealed plan of the furniture and adornments of the Tabernacle, or the Temple, so also did He raise up men to lay the foundations, and raise upon them the superstructure of the Temple of Truth. In view of these unquestionable facts it may well be asked, What do men mean by raising such objections as are based upon diversity of style found among the sacred writers? Is it reasonable to suppose that the Spirit of God, having determined on the production of a Record characterized by such diversity, and having created

and cultured agents for the prosecution of the work, He would overbear them in the execution of it so that the result would exhibit no trace of the exercise of the very attributes with which, of set purpose, He had endowed them? Such *self-frustrating* procedure (to borrow a term from Coleridge's charge of *self-frustration*) is the logical outcome of the theory of the Anti-verbalists, and cannot be laid to the charge of the theory of Verbal Inspiration.

This is the only view of the Spirit's action in the selection and equipment of the agents of Revelation that can be reconciled with His wisdom and sovereignty, and the bearing of it upon the question of His agency in relation to the free agency of the subjects of an absolutely Plenary, Verbal Inspiration, must be patent to all who will duly weigh the facts of the case. The qualities, whether natural or supernatural, bestowed upon these agents, became part and parcel of their personal constitution, and when moved by the Spirit to speak or record the matter intended for the present or future instruction of the Church, they acted freely, bringing into action endowments which were given by the Spirit to be employed in His service and under His guidance. In using these qualities according to their specific nature, and to their fullest extent, He was not interfering with the freedom of the inspired organs of His will. On the contrary, the more thoroughly He took possession of the men, working out His purpose *ab intra*, through the mediation of the qualities which He Himself had bestowed, the more truly personal, on the part of the inspired agent, would be the resultant utterance or the resultant record. The variety of style in each case becomes a designed variety, and is the necessary outcome of qualities imparted in the creation and subsequent culture of the agent under the presidency of the Holy Ghost. Moral agents moved *ab intra* are moved freely, whether the author of the impulse be the Spirit of God, or the god of this world. Our Lord acted as a free agent when He was led of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil, and Judas acted freely when Satan entered into him and, by

internal impulse, moved him to betray his Master. It is only *ab extra* coöction that transforms men into Coleridge's *automata*. So long as the overt act is originated from within, and is in harmony with the character of the actor, so long must the agent be regarded as possessing all the freedom possible to any order of free moral agents within the empire of 'moral agency, whether on earth or in heaven. All the objections thus far examined, proceed upon a false theory of the freedom of the will, and are as clearly at war with the principles of sound Philosophy as they are with the plainest utterances of Scripture in regard to the doctrines of Sin and Grace.

Other opponents of the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration base an argument on the phenomena observable in the present state of the sacred text. A recent writer thus puts it: "But the theory of Verbal Inspiration is of course quite as untenable, even if applied to the Scriptures in their original tongues. The occurrence of one single various reading, the presence of one single direction to the *Keri*, or reader to correct the *Chethibh*, or written text, is fatal to such a theory. And as every student of the Scriptures in the original knows, such phenomena are to be found by thousands in the Greek and Hebrew text. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that the theory is absolutely baseless, unless we insist on another theory equally absurd, that the Holy Spirit, who dictated every word of Holy Scripture as an infallible revelation to mankind, has not provided means for the preservation of the words He had dictated, but has allowed the Church to lose a vast number of them altogether."

With all due respect to the author of the scholarly articles on Inspiration which appeared in the April, May, and June numbers of this *Monthly*, it is difficult to see the force of the reasoning exhibited in this quotation. One is at a loss to know how "the occurrence of one single various reading," or of thousands of various readings in the present Hebrew or Greek texts, warrants the conclusion that the original autographs, as they came from the hands of the original writers,

were not verbally inspired. There is no logical connection between the premises and the conclusion. Various readings are the outcome of a comparison of different manuscripts, and the design of critics is to ascertain, as nearly as the available sources of information will enable them, what the reading of the original autographs really was. When out of several readings one is selected, as entitled, in the judgment of the critics, to take its place in preference to the others, all that the decision warrants is, that, in their estimate, this was the original reading as it appeared in the inspired autograph. For aught implied in such critical decision, the autograph may have been verbally inspired or it may have been a piece of mere human composition. In view of this matter-of-fact critical procedure, out of which various readings spring, one may be excused if he apply to the argument of our author the language he has used in speaking of the Verbal theory, and pronounce it "absolutely baseless."

The reader will observe in the passage quoted an instance of the confusion of thought, and misconception of the doctrine the writer is opposing. He confounds Verbal *Inspiration* with Verbal *dictation*. As we have already stated, no intelligent advocate of the Verbal theory holds or teaches any such doctrine, and the cause of truth is not advanced by charging men with holding doctrines which they repudiate. He also assumes that it were absurd to hold "that the Holy Spirit, who dictated every word of Holy Scripture as an infallible revelation to mankind, has not provided means for the preservation of the words He had dictated, but has allowed the Church to lose a vast number of them altogether." On what authority is this theory of the Spirit's action pronounced absurd? Suppose it were true that a vast number of the words of Inspiration have been lost—a statement which cannot be proved, as all the original words intended for transmission may exist in the aggregate of manuscripts—does it follow that it is absurd to hold that the Spirit has permitted such loss to occur, and taken no measures to prevent it? Is there anything in the analogy of God's dealings with mankind to justify this assertion? Has God done nothing of this kind

in the history of our race? Having created man upright, wearing the Divine image, did He "provide means for the preservation" of him in that estate? We know that He did not; and if He did not interpose in this case, what reason is there for holding that He would interpose, in order to preserve, in its original and textual integrity, the Revelation of His will? If, consistently with His character, He could permit man to mar the Divine image in which he was created, might He not, with equal consistency, permit man to mar His workmanship in the Divine Record, after it came from the hands of the sacred writers?

As to the extent of this marring in the case of the Record, it is not unreasonable to ask on what authority it is alleged that "*a vast number*" of the original, Spirit-inspired, words has been lost? The allegation implies a range of knowledge which no critic possesses. No one can make such an assertion except he has discovered the original autographs and compared them, word for word, with all existing manuscripts. In no other way could a critic find out what words of the autographs have been omitted in the apographs, or in the vast array of copies now extant, which have been made through the intervening centuries. As no man is in a position to institute such a comparison, it is manifest that no one is warranted in alleging that the Church has lost "*a vast number*" of the words of Inspiration.

It is unnecessary to revert to the author's argument from the *Keri and Chethibh*. The *Keri* is simply a notification to the reader of what he, in the opinion of the notifiers, is to substitute, in reading, in place of what is written in the body of the text. All instances of this class are simply instances of suggested various readings, and are merely conjectures as to what was the reading in the Original Text. On the other hand, the occurrence of such marginal notifications carry with them a word of admonition for the antiverbalists. They prove to all men how reverently the men who have had custody of the sacred Text have looked upon its words. Instead of venturing to change the *Chethibh*, and actually substitute for it the *Keri*, they have simply placed a note in

the margin which indicates what they thought the original writing was.

There is one feature of the method adapted by anti-verbalists in dealing with the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration, which is not fitted to commend it to those whose object is to ascertain the real state of the question, and the *data* for settling it. They are, commonly, in the habit of minimising the Scriptural *data* on which the Verbal theory is based, and reducing to a minimum the testimony of even the small array of texts on which they inform their readers the theory is built. The writer, in his book on *The Rule of Faith and the Doctrine of Inspiration*, has dealt with some remarkable examples of this method of controversy presented in the writings of Prebendary Row, and he is surprised to find an additional instance of this method in the *Theological Monthly* for May, 1891, pp. 343-44. The following is the account given of the sum total of the Scriptural data on which, it is assumed, the Verbal theory rests.

"Our first task will naturally be to inquire what the Scripture itself says; and, as has already been remarked, it says very little. It declares that the Spirit of Christ 'was in the prophets.' It declares that God 'spake by the mouth of his holy prophets.' It tells us 'that holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' 'Jesus Christ Himself, though He speaks with respect of the ancient Scriptures, though He quotes them as having authority, has told us little more about them than that they "testify of Him." He does not hesitate to amplify, or modify their teaching, and sometimes even to abrogate it. And it is to be remembered that when the Scriptures are referred to in the New Testament, the Old Testament is meant, save in one passage only, 2 Peter iii. 16. The New Testament nowhere asserts its own Inspiration. The doctrine that it is divinely inspired rests solely on the fact that the Apostles of Christ were filled with the Holy Ghost in order to carry out the work they were commissioned to do, namely, to proclaim the doctrine Christ had taught them to all the world. Whether this gift endowed

them with immunity from error, and, if so, how far the immunity went, we are nowhere told. The passage most usually cited to establish such immunity (2 Tim. iii. 15, 16) is not decisive. For (1) it is doubtful whether it does more than say that all the inspired books are, in consequence of that Inspiration, profitable for instruction and reproof; and (2) it does not define in what inspiration consists, nor what consequences it involves. That the prophets, when they predicted future events, were the channels whereby the Holy Spirit communicated infallible truth to the world, is a proposition few would dispute. But it is nowhere asserted in Scripture that all portions of it were equally written under such influence. That the guidance of the Holy Ghost was expressly promised to the disciples on various occasions is certainly stated, and there can be no doubt that such guidance was infallible. But that they were at all times under that special and infallible guidance, either in their lives, in their oral communications, or in their writings, is nowhere affirmed. And if we have reason to believe that they were liable to error in the two first, it is open to doubt, as far as Scripture is concerned, whether infallibility can be ascribed to the last. Thus the language of Scripture itself is not distinct on the nature and limits of Inspiration. If theories are to be formed on the point, they must be built on inference, not on any direct assertion of Christ, or of the first preachers of the Gospel" (pp. 343-44).

On page 389 the following sentences occur, "We might, no doubt, claim to be infallibly certain of the truth of the words of the Eternal Son of God. But as they have been handed down to us by human means, we cannot be infallibly certain that we have an infallible record of them. And so, moreover, though we have the best possible grounds for believing that the Bible is the Word of God, we might hesitate to say that we were infallibly certain that this was the case."

It is hardly necessary to remark that the above quotations justify the charge of minimizing already preferred against the anti-verbalists. Christ's own personal testimony is re-

duced almost to the one sentence, that the Scriptures testify of Him! Nor can we be infallibly certain, it is alleged, what were His words in any testimony He bore on the subject, as these words have been handed down to us by "human means." If so, it may well be asked, what warrant have we for believing that He bore even this minimum of testimony? If the introduction of "human means" is the introduction of an element of uncertainty, it must follow, as the whole Bible has been given through the use of "human means," that this faith-subverting element of uncertainty pervades the entire Record, to neutralize the force of its threatenings, and to shake confidence in its promises. Our author seems to make an exception in favour of the prophets when they predicted future events, and he also concedes "that the guidance of the Holy Ghost was expressly promised to the disciples on various occasions," and holds that "there can be no doubt that such guidance was infallible." But it is difficult to see why "there can be no doubt," if, as our author teaches, there can be no certainty about the language through which alone we are informed of these prophetic utterances, and of these promises of infallible guidance. If the use of human agency in the transmission of the Revelation warrants the inference, that "we cannot be infallibly certain that we have an infallible record of the truth [even] of the words of the Eternal Son of God," surely it must follow, that we cannot be infallibly certain that we have an infallible record of anything that Prophet, or Apostle, or Evangelist, ever uttered or penned. The author himself has drawn the only legitimate conclusion from the operation of this disturbing human element in the communication of the Divine will. His conclusion is, "though we have the best possible grounds for believing that the Bible is the Word of God, we might nevertheless reasonably hesitate to say that we were infallibly certain that this was the case. All practical questions," he adds, "in truth, rest on the basis of probability rather than of certainty. On points such as the existence of God we may claim to have found an amount of probability which practically amounts to certainty. At least there is an approach to certainty on

which no reasonable man would scruple to act. But the certainty which rests on logical demonstration we do not claim to possess" (pp. 389-90).

Our author's best possible grounds of faith in the Bible as the Word of God, according to his own account of it, is simply a probability, and of like character is his ground of belief in the existence of God Himself! Is this the sole basis of the faith of God's elect? God forbid. "Let God be true and every man a liar." What a transformation such a theory of a basal probability would work if applied to the sacred text. Take, as examples of its operation, such texts as the following:—"We know (with some degree of certainty) that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have (probably) a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." "He that cometh to God must believe that He (probably) is, and that He is (probably) a rewarder of those that seek Him." "I know (with some degree of certainty) whom I have believed, and am (in some measure) persuaded that He is (probably) able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day." Whatever function the doctrine of probability may have had a century ago, in controversy with atheists or deists, there is no room for it in the economy of Grace, whose provisions are so complete that they "make known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places the manifold wisdom of God." The method of salvation is such as to exclude probability as the basis of faith. That by which those who received Christ differed from those who received Him not lay not in this—that the former regarded it as probable that He was the promised Messiah, while the latter deemed His claims to rest upon an improbability. The ground and origin of the faith of those who received Him was that they "were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." To a like cause the Scripture ascribes the faith of those who beheld "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." The omnipotent energy of the operating cause in their case is likened to the omnific mandate uttered in the original creation of light. The

doctrine of the Divine word assumes and affirms the utter inability of man to apprehend or receive the things of the Spirit of God, and denies the possibility of his receiving or knowing either the Kingdom of God or its King prior to regeneration. Christian faith, therefore, is not the result of a process in which the probable is weighed against the improbable, issuing in the preponderance of the former over the latter. The promises of which it takes hold are not yea, yea, and nay, nay, but in Christ are all yea and amen. In a word, if the Scripture account of man's natural state and of the power put forth in his recovery be true, the doctrine of probability, as the basis of saving faith, must be rejected as irreconcilable with the first principles of the doctrines of Grace. God has not left "the heirs of the promise" to draw conclusions from a balance of probabilities, but "willing to show more abundantly the immutability of His counsel, confirmed it with an oath, in order that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have strong consolation who have fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us." Such is the basis of the believer's faith and hope. The Divine promise confirmed by the oath of God, and the immutability of the Divine counsel, place the ground of his confidence outside the category of the merely probable.

Our author would exclude dogma from having any part in settling the question of Inspiration. His reason for such exclusion *probably* is that dogma excludes probability. What is dogma (from *δοκᾶ* to think) but the formulated result of thought? The claim to acceptance of any dogma, whether within the domain of science, philosophy, or theology, depends upon the character of the *data* on which it is founded, and the logical consistency and accuracy of the process of thinking through which it has been reached. The above dogma, and its correlative dogmas previously established, can bear, without peril, the application of this or any other righteous test. They are neither more nor less than the formulated teaching of the Word of God regarding the way of Life and the guarantees of the safety of those who walk in it. Such is the idea of

dogma, and such is the character of genuine Scriptural dogma, and, judged by such dogmatic test, the doctrine of probability, as the basis of the Christian faith, must be excluded as antagonistic to the determinate and determining principles of the economy of Grace, and as having an unsettling tendency which must be most inimical to that strong consolation which it is the privilege of the heirs of the promise to enjoy.

As the foregoing quotation shows, our author founds an argument against Verbal Inspiration on the fact, that while Christ speaks with respect of the ancient Scriptures, and quotes them as having authority, He does not hesitate to amplify or modify their teaching, and sometimes even to abrogate it. It is difficult to see the force of this argument. It is a recognized prerogative of the enacting, legislative authority to do all that is here mentioned. The authority enacting the law can amplify or modify it, and even abrogate it, if a change of circumstances render such action necessary. No one questions the right of human legislators to attemper their laws and adjust them as the progress of events may demand. Are we to deny to Christ, who was the Legislator under the Old Testament, this same legislative prerogative? The laws of that dispensation which He has amplified, or modified, or abrogated, were necessary for the time then present, but were unsuitable in their original form to the new dispensation, or, as in the case of some of them, were incapable of adjustment to its milder, freer constitution. As He is the Author of both dispensations, He certainly had the right to exercise His prerogative as the Legislator in both, and to make such changes as, in His infinite wisdom, He deemed necessary to the progressive development of the kingdom of His grace. Such action on His part cannot, with any show of justice, be interpreted as implying any lack of approval of those laws, as if they were destitute of Divine authority in the times for which they were enacted; and it is only on such assumption that our author's argument can have any force.

But it will be observed that the argument in question con-

finds the *matter of the sacred Record with the Inspiration of the writers*. So far as the point at issue is concerned, the character of the laws referred to is not to be taken into account. The sole question is, were the sacred writers moved by the Holy Ghost to place them on record, and was the agency of the Spirit who moved them to write, such as to render them infallible in the execution of their task? The character of the laws has nothing whatever to do with the subject under discussion. It is time that writers on this subject would learn to distinguish between the character of the matter of the sacred Scriptures, and the inspiration of the agents employed to place it on record. Let it be remembered that men have been inspired to make record of the acts and utterances of Satan, of demons, and of wicked men. If writers on Inspiration would remember this fact and recognize, as the *status questionis* demands, the above distinction, they would be less likely to formulate arguments against the Plenary, Verbal inspiration of the organs of the Holy Ghost, from the character of the communications they were commissioned to convey. The infallible inerrancy of the inspired writer in the execution of his task, and the character of the matter of his composition, are altogether distinct questions and should never be confounded. The matter may embrace blasphemous utterances, or the history of a deed of villainy, and, nevertheless, the agent who placed both on record may have done so by divine authority and under the inspiration of the Spirit of God.

In view of the length to which this article has already extended, it would be unreasonable even to indicate the dimensions of the Scripture testimony on which Verbalists base their theory of Inspiration. The writer, therefore, must content himself with the request that his readers will refer to previous articles of his in which the chief features and facts of this testimony are set forth. These articles, prepared at the Editor's request, appeared in the *Theological Monthly* for April and October, 1889.

ROBERT WATTS.

ECCE CHRISTIANUS.

PART IV.

HOW MEN ARE TO BE PERSUADED TO BECOME CHRISTIANS.

FROM the consideration of what it is to be a Christian, there is a very natural transition to the thought of the way in which men are to be persuaded to enter on the Christian life. A discussion of the latter question, indeed, is indispensable to a full appreciation of the former. To those who have been attracted by the blessings flowing from Christianity on the one hand, it becomes a most urgent question, How are we to receive this grace? By what process are we to enter on the enjoyment of it? To the preachers of the Gospel, who desire to win such souls as these, on the other, this must be the subject on which their attention is to be chiefly concentrated; for mistakes here must be fraught with a danger at the very approach of which every faithful ambassador of Christ must tremble. It will be in keeping with the aim and spirit of these papers to look here very closely at the Apostolic method of persuasion, in order that afterwards, if need be, we may be able to test by it as a standard the varied features of the methods that are pursued by teachers of our own days.

The first element in the Apostolic plan of attracting men to the new Way was simply to set before them the great historic facts of the career of Jesus of Nazareth. It was these events that revealed the Divine love to the world: and they accordingly constituted the sum and substance of the Gospel of the grace of God. Out of no other vessels could the first preachers offer to men the water of life eternal. Naturally they spoke first of His birth and advent into the world: often simply of His being raised up by God to do the work of saving men from their sins. Then followed the main events of His ministry. Special importance was attached to His death; for Jesus died not as a martyr, but as Paul expressly

says, "for our sins";¹ or, to use the words of John, as "the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the world."² But having been thus delivered for our offences, He was raised again for our justification.³ He had satisfied all the claims that the righteousness of God had upon Him as one who had identified Himself with our fallen race; and it was not possible that He could be holden of death. In recognition and recompense of His effectual offering for sin, He was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness by the resurrection of the dead.⁴

This glorious consummation of His earthly ministry, however, the Apostles continually affirmed, was only the starting-point of a yet higher exaltation and of a heavenly ministry that He is carrying on up to this hour. They themselves had seen Him ascend into heaven from Mount Olivet, to be welcomed by the Father as His own glorified Son, and to share with Him the administration of universal dominion for the growing victory of His cause in the world. From the throne on high He had also shed down the full power of the Holy Spirit, which in the Father's name He had so often promised. It was by this Divine Advocate that they themselves had been empowered to fulfil the task of embassy to men in which they were engaged; as it was by Him alone that men anywhere could be quickened and restored again to fellowship with God for life and service. From the exalted Son of God this power would never cease to flow until every tribe and kindred and tongue were gathered into the kingdom of heaven. When this work had been accomplished—and they knew not how speedily the end might be reached—this same Jesus, whom the heavens had received, would come again in glory to receive His ransomed people, and on the throne of everlasting judgment to fix the destiny of those who had obeyed His Gospel, and of those who through disobedience were none of His.

Thus more or less succinctly, as occasion seemed to

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 3.

² Rom. iv. 25.

³ 1 John ii. 2.

⁴ Rom. i. 4.

demand, did the Apostles set forth the redemptive work of the Lord Jesus. Not until they had in one way or other brought men face to face with a coming judgment of quick and dead, did they present any other element of their message. But whenever this was done, they announced the specific demands that, in view of the grace He had shown, the Lord of heaven and earth now made on every creature under heaven. What were these?

The first in order was the summons to repentance. It was this that formed the leading theme in the preaching of John the Baptist. "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."¹ The Lord Jesus took up the same call, and issued it in the most varied forms.² The Apostles could only repeat it, backing it up, however, with the still stronger intimation that the kingdom of God had now come, and that the Judge of all was at the door: "But now He commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent: inasmuch as He hath appointed a day in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom He hath ordained: whereof He hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead."³ What does this requisition really involve?

On the face of it, it is a summons to a change of conviction. "Repent ye" is just literally, "Change your mind. You have been cherishing wrong ideas about God and your relation to Him, about the sin in which you live and the awful responsibility it entails upon you. Get new ideas derived from God Himself about these things, and let them take a full possession of you ere it be too late." But a change of conviction inevitably carries with it a change of attitude; and this too has place here. Getting right views of God as drawing near to them in mercy, and right views of the heinousness of sin, men were also summoned to draw near to God, humbling themselves under His mighty hand and imploring His forgiving and restoring grace. This, however, in turn implied a change of conduct; for men could not expect to be dealt with mercifully unless, while deploring past sin, they also set their face against all known iniquity

¹ Matt. iii. 2.² Matt. iv. 17.³ Acts xvii. 30.

and sought to do that which was right in the sight of the Lord. If this line of action were persevered in, a yet deeper result might be expected, in which repentance might be said to culminate. The change of conviction, and attitude, and conduct would come out also in a change of heart, that is, of nature and of character, which, deepening through life, would at length end in a complete restoration and transformation of the soul.

At the same time, it was continually taught that ere this repentance could be carried out, ere indeed, in the deeper aspects of it, it could really begin, men had to yield to another requisition of the Gospel, namely, faith. This had been continually enjoined on men from the beginning of redemption. Abraham had simply to believe in God to be embraced in the covenant. Israel, too, had ever to trust in the Lord. The burden of all the prophets was that the just was to live by faith. The Lord Jesus, too, would not rest satisfied with anything short of this: "I have not seen so great faith, no, not in Israel." "Believest thou that I am able to do this?" "Have faith in God." With these examples before them, the Apostles could only keep up the same strain. Only they were in a position to issue the summons in a more pointed form. Presenting the exalted Son of God Himself as with the Father the object of faith, they urged men continually not only to repent, but, taking baptism as the outward expression and symbol of faith, to be baptized in the name of Jesus for the remission of sins. As the Lord Jesus taught Paul after his conversion, it was through faith in Him that men were to be redeemed;¹ and, in accordance with this, Paul revealed the master principle of his whole method of persuading men when he and Silas said to the Jailor at Philippi, "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy house."²

About the nature of this faith, not a little might be said from the philological or historic standpoint.³ Here it must be

¹ Acts xxvi. 18.

² Acts xvi. 31.

³ Cf. Hatch on "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages on Christianity" (*Hibbert Lectures*). Lecture XI.

sufficient to say that its essence has always seemed to us to lie in the consent of the heart to the saving power of God. The man who opens his heart to the entrance of Divine sovereign grace is the man who everywhere in Scripture is hailed as one that trusts in God. With Christ as the object of it, faith of course assumes a yet more definite form. Here it is a submissive acceptance of the Divine power with special reference to the provision that is made in the glorified Son for man's needs. Christ is preached in the Gospel as having in Himself the very standing and character that sinners require, and as being most able, willing, and ready to share these blessings with them. Hence, when a soul is asked to believe in the Lord Jesus, he is really invited so to bow before the saving power of God as to acknowledge and receive His Son with all the grace that is in Him. Christ at God's right hand has a death for sin with which He can credit us : receiving Him in this aspect we are forgiven. He has in Him also an obedience to God, a righteousness wrought out on earth which as the eternal Lord He can share with us : receiving this we are justified. He has a Sonship with God which He can also dispense : receiving Him in this relation we are adopted. He has a holy nature which He can no less graciously impart : receiving Him and following Him as the Holy One we are sanctified. Thus of God are we in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, even righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.¹

Not even at this point, however, could the requisitions of the Gospel be arrested. Repentance and faith, salutary as they are in themselves as changes effected by the Spirit in the human heart, are after all only the means and the beginning of salvation. To get anything like a full experience of this great boon, to make sure of having it ministered across the levels of the whole life, and so to enter into and enjoy the fulness of the blessing of Christ, there must be an entire surrender of the whole heart and life to the will and service of God. How constantly this lesson was taught to Israel is

¹ 1 Cor. i. 30.

manifest on the face of the whole Scriptures. Their ancient law was full of it. It is no less clearly stamped on the teaching of the New Testament. The very acceptance of Christ crucified, indeed, carries this obligation in it. For, as Dr. Marcus Dods has well pointed out, the sacrifice of Christ is given to us not only as a sin-offering, but also as a burnt-offering; not only, that is, as a means of expiating the guilt of sin, but as a type of what we in His strength are to be and do as we live in Him. "We are constantly reminded that it is this which is to be a Christian, that it is this which makes a man Christian, or Christ's, or Christ-like, namely, the acceptance of Christ's Spirit as our own—the acceptance of the practical spirit of His life, the principle or idea of His life—as ours: the entire submission and surrender of ourselves to God and the general good, so that if by our death, or by any prolonged suffering, we could secure some benefit to others, we should be found gladly accepting and undergoing it. . . . What He did as our Substitute we need not attempt to do over again; what He did as our Representative we must ceaselessly aim at. He is our sin-offering, by whose blood we are cleansed from guilt and accepted as God's children and people. He is also our burnt-offering, in whose sacrifice we recognize the ideal after which we strive, until, by the power of His Spirit, our sacrifice of self is perfect: to disconnect the two is to lose both."¹ This lesson it was that the Apostle Paul learned so fully in the school of Christ. No one ever practised it or taught it, more ardently; for in the very first verse of the practical application of his great outline of the Gospel he writes, "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service."²

Such we believe to be the main features of the way in which the Apostles endeavoured to win men to the side of Christ as a living, Divine Saviour. That they considered men able of themselves to comply with these requisitions is

¹ *Christ's Sacrifice and Ours*, pp. 6-17.

² Rom. xii. 1.

nowhere intimated. On the contrary, they were fully convinced in their own minds that this could not be so, whatever skill in persuasion might be used. Men had to be illumined by the Spirit of God ere they could even discern the path of life ; and, after that, they had still to be quickened and led every step of the road they were to traverse. Yet the first preachers felt that they had their own part as witnesses to play ; and it is only the study of their addresses and writings that can reveal how earnestly, tenderly, and urgently they did it. For could they not all say with Paul, "We are ambassadors therefore in behalf of Christ, as though God were entreating by us ; we beseech you on behalf of Christ, be ye reconciled to God"?¹ There was no flattery of human nature by way of removing prejudices ; nor was there any lowering of the Divine demands. For, wrote Paul, "knowing therefore the fear of the Lord, we persuade men, but we are made manifest unto God ; and I hope that we are made manifest also in your consciences."²

Yet who shall say that there was any lack of encouragement ? For making the self-surrender of which we have spoken, the hearers of the Apostles were continually taught to expect that they should be blessed more and more as the days went on. It was theirs to yield themselves unto God. Doing so, they need have no doubt that He would give His Son to them in all the unsearchable riches of His grace. Especially were they led to believe that in this way they would have the Spirit of Christ continually within them. He is the supreme gift of God, and only on this condition could it be obtained and enjoyed. Herein, indeed, lies our consecration. Not a few evangelists in our day speak as if men were to consecrate themselves. This is not the leading idea of Scripture. Men surrender : it is God that consecrates. And He does so by filling the soul with His Spirit and opening up the way into fuller service and richer reward, so making His children Christians indeed, in whose hearts there is no guile and in whose lives there is no disloyalty.

¹ 2 Cor. v. 20.

² 2 Cor. v. 11.

The certainty that this way of preaching the Gospel will attract men, arises from its perfect adaptation to human nature. Such a message lays hold of every faculty of man's spirit. Ere a thoughtful soul can be persuaded to identify himself with any new enterprise, he must see that those who advocate it can give an account of its claims that shall satisfy both the understanding and the conscience. The overtures presented must also be such as to win the heart, because only by this avenue can they reach and move the will. This, however, is just what the message of Christianity does. It meets the demand of the intellect, for it is based on the indisputable and deeply significant historic facts of the career of Jesus. It satisfies the conscience, for it offers blessings that have been won in a fashion consonant with the claims of Divine righteousness and grace. It fills the heart, because it brings to it One who is worthy of man's deepest and noblest affections. Thus also it takes possession of the will; for when the heart is won for Christ, the whole man is made willing in a day of power to yield himself to God and the service of His kingdom. It will be as men grow skilful in the Divine art of setting forth these facts and lovingly pressing these demands, that they will be successful in persuading men to become Christians.

In closing this series of papers, we are met by three reflections which it will not be out of place to mention here.

1. The first lesson suggested by our review of the origin and significance of the name "Christian," is the necessity of making a special study of the whole method of the Apostolic Evangelism. Our lot is cast on times when the aggressive work of the Church in behalf of the lapsed at home and the heathen abroad, is considered more closely than ever before. No aspect of modern life is more cheering. Men of the most diverse shades of opinion on matters of doctrine and practice are rallying together in the one enterprise of succouring the poor, lifting up the fallen, and opening a brighter path to the weak and oppressed. All the more varied on this account, however, are the prevalent views on the kind of instrumentality by which these results are to be achieved. On the part

of some, social reform in various schemes is regarded as the only practical lever. On the part of others, the Divine message of mercy is looked upon as the chief means to be used. In our view, there is no antagonism betwixt these agencies. But we do contend that when the latter method is adopted, the kind of Gospel that should be preached must be drawn from the preaching and writing of the primitive Apostles. It was in their hands that historic Christianity began its work. The whole course of the teaching that they dispensed to the Church was moulded by the exalted Lord.¹ To ignore this type of doctrine, or to tinker essential features in it, in the hope of making it more adapted to fallen human nature, is but very feebly described as questionable policy. It is flagrant disloyalty to the Church's adorable Head: a deliberate preference of that which is superficial and temporary above that which, as coming from heaven, must be vital and everlasting. Who can be equipped for taking part in the work of healing diseased humanity that does not abide in the school of the Divine Physician?

2. Another thought not to be evaded here is the supreme value of making a special duty of the leading terms in the terminology of Christian doctrine. No doubt, this has been done in a fashion for long centuries; and we would not esteem lightly any results that have been attained by the methods of bygone days. But it is becoming more and more manifest that the first and obvious meaning of such words as they are employed in our own speech may be a very untrustworthy indication of their original significance. Indeed, where the proper sense of these words has been taught, the popular mind will speedily ignore it. There is present a constant tendency to rub off the sharp edge of the meaning that important terms wear in exact exposition of Biblical truths. The history of the pulpit has put it beyond doubt that the public teachers of Christianity are too ready to yield to this downward tendency. As a careful student of this topic has well said, "A preacher needs to be master of a precise religious style. The temptation, when seconded by the amenities and the culture of the social

¹ Rom. vi. 17.

life which Christianity creates, is almost overwhelming, to yield to the moral decadence of the secular mind, and permit Christianity to decline to the level of philosophic morality. Preachers who do not intend this may be drawn into it insensibly. They gradually become reluctant to employ the distinctive language of Christian experience because it is the language of so much illiterate experience. They unconsciously incline to the more philosophic methods of expressing the same ideas, but ideas which, in the philosophic dialect, are not the same to any mind but theirs."¹

To put an arrest on this process, it is necessary for preachers to fall back more unreservedly than ever on the grammatico-historical method of interpretation. The recent researches of students—and of none more distinctly than the late Dr. Edwin Hatch—have shown how much is to be gained, for example, not merely by studying the original usage of words in the Old Testament, but also the specific shade of significance intended to be developed in them by their translation into New Testament Greek. This is a great harvest-field for the preacher who would make it his supreme aim to preach "the word of the truth of the Gospel." If knowledge of words is the key to thought, thought the means of ascertaining truth, and truth the instrumentality used by the Holy Spirit in saving souls, the endeavour to attain precision in the use of Biblical language can never be in vain in the Lord.

3. The last inference suggested here is the urgent necessity of taking heed to the special truths that, as lying at the root of the Christian life, constitute also the doctrinal foundations of the Christian Church. It might have been expected that the Apostolic warning on this point would have proved sufficient for all the coming ages. "For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ."² "Being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief corner-stone."³ This is the charter of Christendom. Wherever men are

¹ Dr. A. Phelps, *English Style in Public Discourse*, p. 123 (Dickinson).

² Cor. iii. 11.

³ Eph. ii. 20.

associated in the name of the Divine Son of the Father, and on the footing of a cordial acceptance of the primitive Apostolic testimony and order, we have the rudiments of the Church. This designation may not be in use ; but the reality is there. This, however, is plainly a basis too definite for many in these last days. The personal dignity of the Lord Jesus is not insisted on ; the special effects claimed to have been achieved by His death are not brought into view ; the testimony of His Apostles regarding His present power and future glory need not be retained. All that is indispensable is that men should be awake to the beneficent character of His ministry, and, in any way that is open to them, imitate its spirit. In short, "altruism," or "mutual helpfulness," after the example of Jesus of Nazareth, is to be the foundation of "the Church of the New Era."

What a feeble caricature this is of the magnificent ideal that was cherished in the heart of the "Lord of all," we need not attempt here to show at length. The foundation of such a Church, embracing as it does the unchanged impulses, motives, and principles of unregenerate humanity, would at the best be built of wood, and hay, and stubble, and could never stand the fiery trial of earth or heaven.¹ But it is really "the baseless fabric of a vision," and will never be embodied in actual shape. We shall do well, then, still to adhere to the lesson on this point taught by the origin of the Christian life. Christ is the Head of the Church, because He is first, the Head of every man in whose heart a spiritual saving faith has taken root. He is the foundation of the Church, because He is first the corner-stone of the individual Christian character renewed by His gracious Spirit. We do need a Christ in every man. But such Christians must abide under the unction of the Holy One in heaven. The Christ who alone can undertake to beautify their moral nature and guide their service is the "Christ of God," dying for sin and now living to bless, formed in the heart as the hope of glory, and developing within it the power of an endless life.

J. P. LILLEY.

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 12-15.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

PART IV.

THE difficulty of examining the Christian truth by the light of science is real for believers ; it is not less so (and this is more extraordinary) for many philosophers who are strangers to faith. They have been brought up in what Jouffroy calls the "contempt of dogma." This contempt has become a blind and tenacious prevention. Many scholars who will have no objection to study the works of Aristotle, Epicurus, Plato, Descartes, Hobbes, Leibnitz, and Hegel, will refuse to study a Christian doctrine ; the mere fact that it belongs to the domain of Christianity is in their eyes an evident proof of error, a sign which exempts them from the obligation of examination. All that belongs to the ancient faith is false ; that has become for them an axiom which is beyond discussion. They, therefore, examine all the doctrines save one, that which, as history testifies, has transformed the face of the moral world, that which, in the order of the intellect, has inspired the promoters of modern science and guided their labours, so great is the power of prejudice.

Those minds that are free from such preventions have a grand work to accomplish, a work the elements of which exist in the past, but which does not seem to have ever been undertaken with a clear insight into its nature and method. This work is twofold ; let us endeavour to determine it exactly in both its parts.

The first thing to be done, as we have already said, is to detach from Christian dogma the philosophical solutions which it contains. In order to achieve this, dogma must be taken in its primitive state, in that state in which it triumphed over ancient wisdom, and cast into the soil of the old world the germs of a new life. This work is of the utmost importance, for Christian dogma has often been altered by the ignorance or prejudices of those who have attacked it, by the passions of its defenders, and by the mingling of philosophical elements which are foreign and even hostile to it, and which

have nevertheless entered into the constructions of systematic theology. The doctors of the Middle Ages, naturally dazzled by the genius of the Greeks, fell under the influence of Plato and Aristotle without fully understanding the bearing of the doctrines they professed. Modern theologians have made strenuous efforts to determine the true significance of the primitive documents of religion. Their works are a rich mine; but their studies embrace the whole field of Christianity, and are generally brought under the influence of a particular ecclesiastical position. It were wiser to define the philosophical questions clearly, and to determine, in eliminating all the rest, the answers which Christianity supplies to all these questions. That is what has perhaps never been done in a thorough and complete manner. The philosophical solutions contained in the Gospel would thus be obtained.

This done (it is the first portion of the task), the laws of reason must be applied to the solutions obtained and considered as hypotheses. The logical connection of ideas must be appreciated, its consequences deduced, a system organized, the system of Christian philosophy which is the rational expression of the foundations of faith. Here, again, is an essential work to be accomplished. Just as theology must be subjected to a process of epuration, in order that the Christian dogma may be obtained, so also must the whole of the ideas and judgments which we call reason be subjected to the same process of elimination. In fact, reason, such as it appears at first sight, contains, together with the true laws of thought, many traditional, local, and temporary opinions which we wrongly consider as the patrimony of the human mind. It is said that Socrates, on hearing a dialogue of Plato in which he had been given a conspicuous part, exclaimed, "How many things does this youth lay to my charge!" If reason could speak, it would have many an occasion to say, "How many things are imputed to me of which I am innocent!" In fact, a mere agglomeration of prejudices is often taken for reason. These prejudices are mostly the result of the action of philosophical systems; and as materialism and idealism

have reigned in science, there exists in most minds germs or fragments of these systems which are sometimes confounded with the constitution of thought. It is easy to conceive, therefore, that in the study of the relation of faith to reason, men often consider on the one hand an altered dogma, on the other a perverted reason, so that the problem is not stated in its correct terms.

That the question may be properly stated, dogma must be freed from the ideas which are foreign to it and alter it, and thought must be freed from the prejudices which it contains. In proportion as this twofold aim will be reached, the primitive elements in both orders will be attained, and it will be possible to apply reason directly to the data of the Gospel. The task is not easy, for in every domain the most considerable effort of the mind is that which leads it to the truly simple elements.

The application of the principles of reason to the bases of the Christian doctrine detaches from it spiritualism properly so-called. If it be admitted that spiritualism is the only system of philosophy that presents a satisfactory solution of the problem of the universe, it will be seen that the Christian faith proposes the best hypotheses to the study of science. Some time will be required before this result is generally admitted, because the path that leads to it is paved with prejudices, interests, and passions. When time will have achieved its work, it is my conviction that men will acknowledge that the Christian faith, which, by its authority, edifies the Church of believers, furnishes also by its influence the foundations of true science, as well as those of civilization. They will see that the work of Christ is the principle of peace in the world of the intellect, as well as in the domains of heart and conscience. The end is a noble one, and the enterprise is well worth being attempted.

Such is the accordance of religion and philosophy, of science and faith ; it is a concordance which does not destroy their distinction ; it is harmony, and not identity. The following formula is a correct expression of this idea : " Every Christian is a spiritualist, but every spiritualist is not a

Christian." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for instance, has written some of the finest pages in which we find the most exact popular exposition of the bases of a true spiritualism. He is clear and precise on the questions bearing upon the spiritual nature of the soul, the moral conscience, the responsibility of man, and the liberty of God.¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, however, is far from the Christian faith, notwithstanding his respect for the Gospel, because he is a stranger to the sense of sin ; he stops midway in the study of the origin of evil, and seems, consequently, to have no notion whatever of the doctrine of redemption.

Therefore, men who give a different solution to the question of faith, properly so-called, may nevertheless be agreed as to the manner of understanding the origin of the world, the nature of its principle, the destination of beings. This question, however, enters into the development of exhaustive philosophy, since philosophy, after stating its principle, must, in its attempts at explanation, embrace the entire circle of experience. The question presents itself historically and logically. Logically, in the first place, as regards the problem of evil, Rousseau, following in the steps of the stoic Cleanthes, affirms the absolute goodness of the principle of the universe, and imputes the entire origin of evil to the will of the creature. That is the spiritualistic solution. Will the solution be sufficient if we consider only the individual will, or, to solve the problem fully, must we have recourse to the idea of human solidarity and to the Christian doctrine of the fall? The question may be stated and solved within the immediate domain of philosophy, because the

¹ It is a mistake to place Rousseau among the deists. In fact, deism is the system of those who, rejecting all manner of revelation, believe only in the existence of God. The rejection of revelation, although it may be a result of historical criticism, has almost always in reality a philosophical basis : the affirmation that the supernatural is an impossibility, or, in other words, a conception of God such as will forbid ascribing to Him any action apart from the laws of nature. That is the opinion of many modern philosophers, and even of many ecclesiastics. Rousseau is so far from sharing this idea (at times, however, for this paradoxical genius is subject to contradictions) that he writes in his *Lettres de la Montagne*, "Should there be found a man to affirm that God cannot work miracles, it were too much honour to punish him ; it would suffice to shut him up."

doctrine of the fall may come in as a hypothesis for examination. But the doctrine of the fall is closely allied to that of redemption, and the redeeming act affirmed in Jesus Christ is inseparable from faith in His divinity. Can the notion of God, which is the basis of spiritualism, be maintained apart from the doctrine of the fall ; and, being admitted the doctrine of the fall, can the notion of God be maintained without faith in redemption ? In other words, considering the natural connection of ideas, is philosophical spiritualism self-sufficient ; or, in order to maintain and perfect itself, does it require the dogma of the work of Jesus Christ ? That is the logical mode of stating the question of faith properly so-called.

The question is stated also on the ground of history. Christianity is a great fact, important in its actual state, extraordinary in its origin. Philosophy is bound to take it into consideration, and to endeavour to account for it. Can it be explained by the well-known law of the development of societies, or, in order to account for it, must we follow it up to the supreme cause, to a direct manifestation of God in Jesus Christ ? Without entering upon other considerations, let us observe that, to those who consider spiritualism as the best philosophy, it must seem strange that this system did not originate in the learned schools of antiquity, but in the least respected portion of a people that were held in light esteem as far as science was concerned. If the Christian faith proposes the best solution of the universal problem, the value of this solution singularly confirms faith. When we compare the offshoots of ancient thought in the splendour of their beauty, but also in the wretchedness of their impotence, with the simple words of Christian preaching, we may well enter into the thought of St. Paul, "Christ crucified is unto Gentiles foolishness ; but the foolishness of God is wiser than men."¹ This consideration constitutes the part of philosophy in Christian apologetics. The Fathers made use of this argument, and it is destined to acquire an increasing value, if it be true that spiritualism is still in formation only, and shakes off

¹ 1 Cor. i. 23, 25.

only little by little the foreign elements which have hindered, and, in some cases, prevented its development.

Suppose it granted that the direct action of God is the best explanation of the appearance and influence of the Gospel, then the affirmation of faith seems justified by the method of science. When men do not find in known phenomena the reason of a new manifestation, they trace the latter up to a hitherto unknown cause. Thus Descartes, finding in reason no possible transition from nothingness to existence, from the mechanical phenomena of nature to will, and from human nature to Jesus Christ, esteems that man must go back to the supreme cause in order to explain Jesus Christ, as well as to define man and matter. He writes, "God has wrought three miracles—things out of nothing, free-will, and the Man-God."¹ The same process of thought is set forth in the notes of a Genevese magistrate, from which I take the following extract :—

"I shall be asked what is my belief. The influence of Christianity in the beginning of our era, and that which it still exerts with respect to civilization and to the improvement of the most savage nations, are as strong a proof of its Divine origin as Scriptural tradition and the theses of theologians. Neither philosophy nor materialism have yet penetrated that great mystery of life filling the earth, and still less that of *human intelligence*. These miracles, to which we grow accustomed, because they are continually beneath our gaze, are none the less miracles, that is to say, facts of which the explanation is not to be found in any appreciable cause. Wherefore, then, refuse to admit, in presence of its effects, one miracle more, that of a revelation by which God, who has not made man without a destination, warns him directly whenever he departs from this destination, in order to bring him back to it."²

The Genevese magistrate introduces in his argumentation the idea of life which Descartes, under the influence of his

¹ *Tria mirabilia fecit Dominus ; res ex nihilo, liberum arbitrium et Hominum-Deum.*

² *Memoires de Jean-Louis Rieu.*

theory, fails to take into account. A new cause is admitted when there appears a new phenomenon which is irreducible to anterior phenomena. That is the reason why Prof. Secrétan could write, "The philosopher becomes a Christian without abdicating when, setting aside all manner of tergiversation, he considers Christianity as an historical fact, for which the philosophy of history is bound to account, and when he has convinced himself that a direct intervention of God in history is the only sufficient reason for this phenomenon."¹

It may seem now as though the whole of religion had re-entered the domain of philosophy, and that the distinctions which we have laboriously established had disappeared. No, these distinctions remain. It is certain that philosophers may admit, like Rousseau, the groundwork of spiritualism, and not acknowledge the value of the arguments which tend to establish that the Christian dogma, in its essential elements, is the necessary complement of this doctrine. In the absence of a determinate moral disposition, the arguments of philosophical apologetics will never have a coercive value for thought. We must remember that the practice of Christian works and prayer, which is the experience of the action of God in the soul, are elements foreign to the processes of science properly so-called. We must consider especially that the view of the intellect which, in the divinity of Jesus Christ, acknowledges the hypothesis that supplies the best explanation of the influence of Christianity and of its destinies in the world, remains utterly distinct from the act of faith, in which all the faculties of the soul unite, and which establishes a personal relation between the believer and Him in whom he trusts. But to feel the essential difference between these two conditions of the soul, a man must have no experience whatever of the realities of the spiritual life, and forget that, not only in the questions that bear upon religious faith, but in the entire domain of the moral order, beliefs feed not upon the labour of the intellect alone.² Even for the Christian philosopher, religion remains distinct from philosophy. His

¹ *Recherches de la méthode qui conduit à la vérité.*

² *Life Eternal.* Fifth discourse.

faith and science meet in sweet harmony, but they unite without blending. That these two elements might be brought from harmony to unity, an immediate view of truth by the intellect alone were required to replace the mediatory work of confidence, a view which would render faith superfluous. This direct possession of religious truth is not within our reach, at least not in our actual mode of existence.

I may be allowed here to give a practical advice to those, unfortunately too few, who believe in the essential harmony between philosophy and religion. United by a common conviction, they form two distinct classes. Some more especially devote their life to the study and teaching of religious truths ; if they hold official or public positions, they are found in the ranks of the functionaries of worship. Others are more particularly occupied with the study and teaching of sciences and philosophy ; they belong to the category which furnishes the professors of universities.

To the former we say, "Preach the Gospel in its simplicity, eliminating from it as much as possible the burdens of theology. Place the grand truths of faith before the heart, the conscience, and the life. Avoid the conflicts of detail between theology and science ; they only occur on the borders of the religious sphere ; remain firmly attached to the centre, and continually draw towards it the attention of those who hear you."

To the latter we must say, "Study seriously, without ever departing from the scientific method. Remember that the influence of your faith upon your thought can in nowise become an authority for others, and beware of the undue action which this influence may exert over yourself. Keep within the limits of incontestable facts, of solid reasoning. Weigh your arguments carefully, and more carefully still the arguments of your adversaries. Remember that faith, to be efficacious, must have as its companion good faith in the most complete sense of the term."

Finally, to all we say, "Do not try to make the harmony between religion and philosophy, let it display itself. Haste would be hurtful, and precipitation dangerous. Let these two

distinct orders develop themselves freely, according to their own laws, and keep the assurance that they will draw closer together as they rise, and that they reunite at their summit."

CONCLUSION.

If we seek to establish a thoroughly general relation between philosophy and religion, this is all we find : philosophy, as the research of unity, is hostile to polytheism ; religion, as the manifestation of liberty, is hostile to fatalism. If we enter upon the consideration of systems, we state an open opposition between materialism and religious faith. Idealism and religion present an apparent concordance in history, but this concordance is vicious, and hides a fundamental opposition. Finally, there is perfect harmony between the Christian faith and spiritualism, and the philosophical value of spiritualism confirms the faith of believers.

It stands to reason that this confirmation is of no value, except a free research, carried on according to the rules of the scientific method, has demonstrated that the doctrines extracted from Christian dogma contain the best explanation of the facts revealed by experience. The harmony between religion and philosophy is solidly established if the three following points can be clearly demonstrated :—

1. Philosophical research, conducted according to its own laws, finds in spiritualism the most probable explicatory hypothesis of the data of experience.
2. The instincts of heart and conscience, in which the religious sentiment manifests itself, find their most complete satisfaction in the Christian faith.
3. Spiritualism is the legitimate philosophical expression of the foundations of the Christian faith.

The first of these is contradicted by materialists and idealists ; I believe the contradictors are in the wrong. The second is generally admitted. Save in cases of blind and passionate incredulity, even those who do not believe in the supernatural origin of the Christian faith often acknowledge that it is the best of religions. The third is contradicted neither by the defenders of spiritualism nor by its opponents,

for the relation between the preaching of the Gospel and the full development of spiritualism is an historically averred fact.

From these considerations we may deduce a special definition of philosophy. Philosophy is born of the want of unity, which is the substance of reason. This want of unity, does not manifest itself solely in the order of the intellect ; it is the fundamental law of our nature. The heart yearns for a love which harmonizes all its affections ; a divided heart is the great source of our miseries. Conscience seeks for the will a law which will govern the whole of its actions, and become the directing principle of the entire life ; the soul remains deprived of peace so long as it is divided between the service of two masters. This unity, towards which the human mind tends by all its functions, is to be found only in God. It is in God that reason finds the explanation of things ; conscience, the rule of action ; the heart, the foundation of its hope.

St. Augustine exclaims, in addressing Him who is the source of unity, "Thou hast created us for Thyself ; therefore our soul is troubled until it rests in Thee !" The soul, by all its aspirations, rises towards the Master of life. If we do not stifle the noblest wants of our nature, if we do not cut the wings of the mind, an irresistible impulse transports us, in every domain, far beyond the bounds of experience. Where, in the present world, are to be found joy, the ideal of the heart ; holiness, the ideal of conscience ; perfect light, the ideal of reason ? Is not light ever mingled with darkness, joy with mourning, holiness with sin ? This aspiration towards the perfect good, which we possess only in hope, is the dowry of the soul in its hymen with life ; it is the seal of the Creator stamped upon the creature. In our relation with the supreme good, the end of all desire, love, and holiness, are the special part of religion ; the rational research of the supreme unity, which explains the universal harmony, is the special part of philosophy. If, therefore, we ask, What is philosophy ? we may answer : Philosophy is the path of reason in the research of God.

EDWARD NAVILLE.

INSPIRED HEBREW POETRY.

PART II.

THE other kind of Hebrew poetry, that which forms its great bulk, as being the language of most of the poetical books, differs from Hebrew verse in that it has not the outward symmetrical form of the latter, namely, division into lines, with an equal number of verbal expressions, but agrees with it in all the following characteristic features.

In Hebrew poetry, as in all other poetry, there is in the choice of expressions what has been called "a poetical dialect," distinguished by the employment of archaic and peculiar forms of words, irregular and more euphonious inflexions, an abundance of bold and brilliant figures of speech, and an abruptness of construction arising mainly from an exuberant use of the figure of *Ellipsis*, which last is a very remarkable feature of all Hebrew composition, but is especially characteristic of its song. Some of these features of word-painting cannot be given fully in any foreign Version, but *Ellipsis* in the case of the omission of the Copulas, Conjunctions, and Conjunctive expressions can for the most part be shown as well in such a Version as in the original. Lowth points out that this sublimity of expression that characterizes Hebrew poetry is equally seen in the opposite figure of *Repetition*, displaying a passionate redundancy as great as the passionate conciseness conveyed by *Ellipsis*. He also calls attention to the fervour and ardour of poetic sublimity shown in three forms of the figure of *Enallage*. First, the sudden and abrupt change of persons, more frequent, I believe, in Hebrew poetry than in any other.¹ Secondly, the frequent

¹ See Deut. xxxii. 15—

"But Jeshurun grew fat, and kicked.

Thou grewest fat, thou wast made thick, thou wast covered with fat."

and sudden transition of tenses.¹ Thirdly, the use of tenses in a manner quite different from their ordinary use. For not only do the Hebrew poets constantly speak of the future in the present, and even in the past;¹ but, stranger still, they often speak of the past in the future.² Such use of the future to represent a time long past is peculiar to the Divine style, being, as far as I am aware, unknown to any mere human composition, but in every way worthy of Him Who is "from everlasting to everlasting," and to Whom all time is no more than a speck appears to us in the seeming infinity of space. This alone gives to Hebrew song a surpassing sublimity.³

But whilst Hebrew poetry shares that exaltation and beauty of language common to all poetry, it knows nothing of what we understand by the laws of prosody or regular recurring rhyme, though it exhibits occasionally very fine

¹ See Isa. x. 28, where not only is there a sudden transition of tenses, but a future event is spoken of in the present and even in the past tense—

"He is come to Aiath;
He has passed to Migron;
At Michmash he will deposit his baggage.
They have gone over the pass;
Geba is their lodging for the night;
Ramah is frightened;
Gibeah of Saul flees."

² See Deut. xxxii. 10—

"He will find him in a desert,
In the vast and howling wilderness;
He will lead him about, He will instruct him;
He will keep him as the pupil of His eye."

See also Judg. v. 29; 2 Sam. xii. 3; Ps. lxxviii. 38, 40; lxxx. 9, 12, 14, &c.

³ Lowth's *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*. Translated. Pp. 153-173. S. Chadwick & Co. 1847.

instances of alliteration, or front-rhyme,¹ which, as in the case

¹ The following are specimens of alliteration in Hebrew poetry :—

אָמַר אֲזַיֵּב
אָרְדָּה אֲשִׁינָּה
אֶחָלֶק שָׁלָל

Exod. xv. 9.

נֶעְרַמוּ-מַיִם
נֶצְבּוּ כְמוֹ-נָהָר נְזִילִים

Exod. xv. 8.

פְּנִיחִים נָפְיוּ
כְּנֶזֶחַת עָלֵי נָהָר

Num. xxiv. 6.

אֲנֹכִי לִיהוָה
אֲנֹכִי אֲשִׁירָה
אֲזַמְּרָה לִיהוָה
אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Judg. v. 3.

אֲנִי
אָב אֲנֹכִי לְאֶבְיוֹנִים

Job xxix. 15, 16.

מָלֵא מַיִם
פִּי-בֹן תְּכִינָה

Ps. lxv. 9.

אֵלֵי אֵתָה וְאֶתְּךָ
אֱלֹהֵי אֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם

Ps. cxviii. 28.

בָּטַח בָּהּ לֵב בְּעֶלְמָה

Prov. xxxi. 11.

מִזֶּבֶב
מִתְנַהֵר בְּמֵז מִתְמַנֶּה

Isa. xxv. 10.

וְהוּא מְחַלֵּל מַשְׁעֵינִי
מְדַבֵּא מַעֲנוֹתֵינִי
מוֹסֵר

Isa. liii. 5.

of Anglo-Saxon and early English, was very common in ancient poems, and also much beautiful assonance.¹

יִרְאָה זֶרַע
יִאֲרִיךְ יָמִים
וְהַפֶּן יִהְיֶה
בְּיָד יִצְלַח

Isa. liii. 10.

¹ By "rhyme" we understand that rhyme which occurs regularly at the end of a line. Assonance is rhyme occurring in other parts of a line than at the end. A fine double instance of this is seen in the second line of the following triplet from Tennyson:—

"Conceits himself as God, that he can make
Figs out of *thistles*, *silk* from *bristles*, *milk*
From burning spurge, *honey* from *hornet-combs*."

It is used more regularly with exquisite effect in C. F. Alexander's *Burial of Moses*, where it gives fire and resonance to the last line but one of each of the ten verses. It will suffice to give an instance from the first and from the last verse:—

"And the angels of *God* upturned the *sod*,
And laid the dead man there."

"He hides them *deep*, like the hidden *sleep*
Of him he loved so well."

Probably the most remarkable instance in the whole range of English poetry is found in Southey's *The Cataract of Lodore*, which, whilst intended chiefly to afford a very elaborate instance of *Onomatopœia*, or sound resembling sense, consists of assonance throughout. Hebrew poetry abounds in assonance, which arises naturally from its inflexions, in the form of case, gender, and number suffixes, tense prefixes and suffixes, and also numerous pronominal, intensive, prepositional, and paragogic suffixes. The following are fine and characteristic examples:

יְהוָה אֱתָהּ יוֹדִיךְ אֲחֵיךְ

Gen. xlix. 8.

וְכָרַב וְאֶזְרָא תִּתְּרֶם קָמִיד

Exod. xv. 6.

בְּמִים אֲדִירִים

Exod. xv. 10.

In place of the symmetry of syllables, the measured march of long and short feet according to the rules of prosody, and the merely melodious, but for the most part meaningless, tinkle of rhyme—neither of which can possibly be reproduced in a strictly truthful, literal, and forcible

בְּאַרְזֵם עַל־מִים

Num. xxiv. 6.

הַקְרִיבָה חֲמָאָה

Judg. v. 25.

וַיְהִי לְאָבֵל כְּנָרִי

Job xxx. 31.

שְׁכָרָךְ וּמִשְׁעָנֶךָ

Ps. xxiii. 4.

אֲנִי יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא

אֲנִי יְהוָה הַצִּלֵּיהָ נָא

Ps. cxviii. 25.

פֶּתַח־לִי אֲחֹתִי רָצִיתִי

יוֹנָתִי תַמְתִּי

Cant. v. 2.

פֶּשַׁע־מִי אֶת־כִּתְּנֹתִי

אֵיכָבֶדָה אֶל־בְּשֻׁנָּה

Cant. v. 3.

חֲלָמִי יְהוָה אֶמְרָה נִפְלִישׁ

Lam. iii. 24.

לְצִדְקָה נְהַגָה צַעֲקָה

Isa. v. 7.

אֲבוֹתֵינוּ מְנַעֲרֵינוּ

אֶת־צֹאנֵם וְאֶת־בָּקָרָם

אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֵיהֶם

נִשְׁכָּבָה בְּבִשְׁמֵנוּ

וְחִכְשָׁנוּ קְלֻמָּתֵנוּ

כִּי לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי חָם

אֲנַחְנוּ וְאֲבוֹתֵינוּ מְנַעֲרֵינוּ

Jer. iii. 24, 25.

rendering — Hebrew poetry, doubtless, because it is the setting of inspired truth designed to be ultimately handed on to all mankind by translation into hundreds of foreign tongues, consists mainly of Thought Rhyme. It is poetry not of sounds or of syllables, but of sentiments.

All spoken language has its movement, or flow, its *ῥυθμός*, or rhythm, which may be traced in the symmetry of every well-turned sentence. But the rhythm of poetry rises above that of the richest prose by its perfect regularity. In poetry there is a measured flow, which, unlike the free utterance of ordinary speech, we can anticipate, and for which we learn to look and long. Amongst the Greeks and Romans the chief law of poetry was metre (*μέτρον*), or number (*numerus*). Their measures depended on quantity. As it is well known, the metrical line of a Greek or Latin poet is an arrangement of words according to the number and length of their syllables, long or short, as determined by the laws of prosody. This is the music of words, where

“In the hexameter rises the fountain’s silvery column,
In the pentameter aye falling in melody back.”

In English and other modern tongues the general effect is somewhat the same, though *accent*, not *quantity*, now gives to verse its regulated *ῥυθμός*.¹

¹ Philo and Josephus speak of Moses as understanding and using metre, indeed the latter says the song of Moses is in hexameter verse, and that a number of Greek metres may be seen in the Psalms. Eusebius and Jerome favoured the same idea. Yet amidst all the disputation that has arisen on this point, no one, at all events, till the time of Lowth, has attempted to show in what such supposed metres consist; and it is difficult to imagine how, if any rules of scansion really existed, they could have been thus lost, and remained so long undiscovered. Lowth’s deliberate opinion, as summed up by Jebb (*Sac. Lit.* p. 16), is as follows, “He begins by asserting that certain of the Hebrew writings are not only animated with the true poetic spirit, but, in some degree, couched in poetic numbers; yet, he allows that the quantity, the rhythm, or modulation of Hebrew poetry, not only is unknown, but admits of no investigation by human art or industry; he states, after Abrabanel, that the Jews

In place of this *music of words* after the model of Greek elaboration and refinement, Hebrew in its more earnest and passionate, its simpler and less artificial style exhibits the *music of thought*. This Thought Rhyme appears in parallel thoughts—thought corresponding to thought by way of (1) Agreement, (2) Contrast, and (3) Amplification—so that, beautiful to observe, *its main features can be perfectly preserved even in a close rendering into another language*.

These three forms may be reduced really to one, namely, Comparison. As logic teaches us that all thought is comparison, it appears that the poetry of the Bible is—first, distinctly philosophical, because it obeys the true laws of thought; and secondly, delightfully primitive, because the comparison upon which it depends, whether by way of agreement, contrast, or amplification, is not only made plainly, but the manifestation of it is of the very essence of the form of such poetry. The refinement that in later ages and Western lands taught *ars est celare artem* had not yet tamed the rugged power of Hebrew song, that song of "SUBLIMITY unequalled, consisting of unequalled SIMPLICITY." One of its immense advantages is that "while it exhibits a definite law of structure of which it is easy to discover the normal

themselves disclaim the very memory of metrical composition; he acknowledges that the artificial conformation of the sentences is the sole indication of metre in these poems; he barely maintains the credibility of attention having been paid to numbers of feet in their compositions; and, at the same time, he confesses the utter impossibility of determining whether Hebrew poetry was modulated by the ear alone, or according to any definite and settled rules of prosody." But if "the Jews themselves disclaim the very memory of metrical composition," and it is not only "unknown, but admits of no investigation by human art or industry," after all Lowth's learned and exhaustive labours, it must be most difficult to discover. Yet it should be borne in mind that Lowth certainly believed in the probability of its existence in the case, at all events, of the acrostic poems, namely, Psalms xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv.; Proverbs xxxi. 10-31; and Lamentations i., ii., iii., iv. (Lowth's *Lectures on Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, pp. 39-43, 219.

form it admits the greatest range and freedom of treatment, and lends itself with such elasticity to the varying hues of emotion that it is impossible to make a perfect classification of all instances."

A rhyme which consists in correspondence of thought, it has been remarked, well agrees with the genius of the Hebrew language, which "flows in short lively sentences, and puts a sentiment in each," and of those who "wrote as a child talks. . . . Their sentences are not long and elaborate structures, composed of dependent members and finished with artistic completeness; but short and simple propositions, fitted together with no greater art than is represented by the copula 'and,' which in Hebrew serves the purposes of many conjunctions. No grammatical law determines the end of the sentence. The author pauses from want of breath, not because the sense requires it, sometimes when it almost forbids. Thus Hebrew eloquence is a lively succession of vigorous and incisive sentences, producing in literature the same effect which the style called Arabesque produces in architecture. Hebrew wisdom finds its complete utterance in the short pithy proverb. Hebrew poetry wants no further art than a rhythmical adaptation of the same sententious style."¹

It was to this Thought Rhyme that Lowth gave the name of *Parallelism*. *Parallelism* is *Simple* and *Complex*. Of the three classes of *Simple Parallelism*, that in which *Parallelism* is by way of agreement, he called *Synonymous*. An example of this occurs in almost the first instance of poetry in the Bible, the words spoken by Lamech in the seventh generation from Adam, probably 5,000 years ago.² The reader will see

¹ *The Poetry of the Bible*. By the Rev. A. S. Aglen.

² I say "almost the first instance of poetry," for surely Mr. Aglen is wrong in calling it "probably the most ancient poetical composition extant, a solitary specimen of Antediluvian poetry," when we have the song of Adam himself, in Gen. ii. 23, not only in Hebrew poetry, but also in Hebrew verse!

וְאָדָם
יָדַבֵּר וַיֹּאמֶר

at a glance that they are in verse, and therefore belong to the more elaborate kind of Hebrew poetry.

עֲדָה וְזִלְלָה שְׁמַעוּ קוֹלִי
 נָשִׁי לְמֶדַח הָאָזְנוּהָ אֶמְרָתִי
 כִּי אִישׁ הִרְגֵנִי לְפָעִעִי
 וְיֶלֶד לְחַבְרָתִי

Verse 1.

"Adah and Zillah ! hear my voice ;
 Wives of Lamech ! give ear to my speech ;

Verse 2.

"For a man I would slay on his wounding me,
 Yea, a young man on his hurting me."¹

Here "Adah and Zillah," in the first line of the first verse, answer exactly to "wives of Lamech" in its second line; and similarly, "hear my voice" is equally synonymous with "give ear unto my speech." In like manner, there is an agreement in meaning between "a man" and "a young man," and between "his wounding me" and "his hurting me," in the two lines of the second verse.

Observe the importance of this in the way of comment. One interpretation of these words is founded on a tradition that Lamech who was blind was led about by his son, Tubal-Cain. The latter, seeing in a thicket what appeared to him to be a wild animal, induced his father to shoot an arrow

וְכָשֶׁר מִבְּשָׂרִי
 לְזֹאת יִקְרָא אִשָּׁה
 כִּי מֵאִישׁ לָקַחְתִּיזָאת

"This now [is]
 Bone of my bones,
 And flesh of my flesh.
 This shall be called woman,
 For from man has this been taken."

¹ Gen. iv. 23.

at it. Lamech, in this way, shot and killed his ancestor, Cain. Finding out that he had thus been led to kill the head of his house, and had brought himself under the sevenfold Divine vengeance pronounced upon the slayer of Cain, in a sudden paroxysm of indignation and rage, he killed Tubal-Cain, and upon this his wives refused to live with him. Those who believe this idle tradition, probably built upon a misinterpretation of these verses, suppose that Lamech is excusing himself as having acted blamelessly in this double homicide. They give the verbs a past, instead of, as they seem to bear, a future sense, and read the verse—

“For a man I have slain on his wounding me ;
Yea, a young man, on his hurting me.”

But the evidently synonymous character of both verses shows that only *one* death is alluded to, and this entirely demolishes the ingenious but far-fetched fable of the deaths of Cain and Tubal-Cain.

The probable explanation of the passage has been suggested by Herder in his *Geist der Hebräischen Poesie*. Just before this poem-fragment occurs, we are told, according to the rendering of Delitzsch, that Tubal-Cain was “a hammerer [or forger] of every cutting instrument in copper or iron,” and hence of swords, knives, and other weapons of war. The poetic words of Lamech, therefore, are verses of exultation at the possession of the new and powerful weapons that his son’s inventive genius had placed in his hands. They appear to be a proud, boastful threat of what this fierce, lawless, antediluvian chieftain would now be able to do to any opponent. Thus the first song of the Bible, on the lips of the worldly seed of Cain, was “the song of the sword ;” but the first song of all, seven generations before this, on the lips of Adam, in unfallen innocence, true type of the Second Adam, the Lord from heaven, was a song of love over his bride.¹

Bishop Jebb thinks the term *Synonymous* for this form of Hebrew rhythm is not sufficiently exact, because, he observes,

¹ Gen. ii. 23.

the second clause in these cases, with but few exceptions, "diversifies the preceding clause, and generally, so as to rise above it, forming a sort of climax in the sense." He would style this kind of *Parallelism, Cognate* rather than *Synonymous*. Indeed, if we retain the name *Synonymous*, we are bound in accuracy to distinguish, at least, five well-marked varieties of this form, to which I have ventured to give the following names: (1) The *Perfect-Synonymous*, (2) The *Imperfect-Synonymous*, (3) The *Explicative-Synonymous*, (4) The *Completive-Synonymous*, and (5) The *Progressive-Synonymous*.

The *Perfect-Synonymous* is well shown in our first illustration—

"Adah and Zillah ! hear my voice,
Wives of Lamech ! give ear unto my speech."¹

This variety, which is exceedingly rare, exhibits a close and complete equivalence of thought in each line. A beautiful double instance occurs in Jacob's blessing—

"Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce !
And their wrath, for it was cruel !
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel."²

Another instance occurs in the words of Elihu—

"Far from God be wickedness,
And from the Almighty, iniquity."³

Similar in form are the words of Balaam—

"Come, curse me, Jacob,
And come, execrate Israel.

How shall I curse, whom God has not cursed ?
And how shall I execrate, whom Jehovah has not execrated ?"

Similar in form is the solemn injunction to Jeremiah—

"Therefore, pray not thou for this people,
Neither lift up a cry or prayer for them."⁴

¹ Gen. iv. 23.

² Gen. xlix. 7. See also the following, instances which may be classed as specimens of the *Perfect-Synonymous*, Gen. xlix. 11, 17, 25.

³ Job xxxiv. 10.

⁴ Jer. xi. 14.

And the words of Isaiah—

“I trod them in mine anger,
And I trampled them in my indignation.”¹

“And the light of the sun shall be sevenfold,
[And the light of the sun shall be] as the light of seven days.”²

The *Perfect-Synonymous*, in the comparatively few places where it occurs, is clearly, by its distinct and almost naked repetition, a most solemn and passionate way of emphasizing an important statement. As compared with other forms of *Synonymous*, or *Cognate*, *Parallelism*, it more than makes up by force for what it lacks in refinement.

The *Imperfect-Synonymous* may be observed in the gracious words—

“Surely our infirmities He has borne,
And our sorrows He has carried them.”³

Here, though the two lines are the same in meaning, the second is something more than a repetition of the first, and yet adds nothing to it by way of explanation, completion, or progression. This form is as uncommon as the first. The following are differing instances :—

“For from the top of the rocks I see Him,
And from the hills I behold Him.

Lo, it is a people that dwell alone,
And shall not be reckoned amongst the nations.”⁴

“Let me die the death of the righteous,
And let my last end be like his.”⁵

“Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah?
Wherewith shall I bow myself unto the High God?”⁶

“The residue of My people shall spoil them,
And the remnant of My people shall possess them.”⁷

¹ Isa. lxiii. 3.

² Isa. liii. 4.

³ Numb. xxiii. 10.

⁴ Zeph. ii. 9.

⁵ Isa. xxx. 26.

⁶ Numb. xxiii. 9.

⁷ Micah vi. 6.

"I know Ephraim,
And Israel is not hidden from Me."¹

The *Explicative-Synonymous* occurs in Mary's song—

"He hath shown strength with His arm,
He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts."²

Here we have a very different variety from either of the first two. The display of Jehovah's strength is spoken of in the first line in general terms, but in the second line it is more particularly described by the way in which, and the persons upon whom, it is exercised. This, unlike the *Perfect* and *Imperfect-Synonymous*, is a very frequent, as it is certainly a very beautiful, form.

The following, also, are fine illustrations of this variety :—

"He bowed His shoulder to bear,
And He became a servant unto tribute."³

"There they rehearse the righteous acts of Jehovah,
The righteous acts of His sway in Israel."⁴

"And He will come upon us like the rain,
Like the latter rain [which] watereth the earth."⁵

"But Thou hast cast us off and put us to shame,
And goest not forth with our armies."⁶

"I will say unto God my rock, 'Why hast Thou forsaken me,
Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy.'"⁷

"I will sing unto Jehovah, for He hath triumphed gloriously :
The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea."⁸

"Wherefore should I fear in the days of evil,
When the iniquity of my heels shall compass me about."⁹

This last is a very Eastern and highly figurative allusion. "The iniquity of my heels" is "the iniquity that lies in wait at my heels," a proverbial expression to this hour in Palestine for treacherous foes ; and "the days of evil" of the

¹ Hosea v. 3.

² Gen. xlix. 15.

³ Hosea vi. 3.

⁴ Ps. xlii. 9.

⁵ Ps. xlix. 5.

⁶ Luke i. 51.

⁷ Judges v. 11.

⁸ Ps. xlii. 9.

⁹ Exod. xv. i.

first line are thus explained in the second to mean "the time when he is surrounded by cunning, treacherous enemies who are secretly plotting and lying in wait to injure him."

The *Completive-Synonymous* is somewhat allied to the last variety, but the second member of the verse contains an addition to the idea of the first. It is a kind of explanation, but one by way of the introduction of a new term in the second member which completes the sense of the first. Such is the verse :—

"No man can by any means redeem a brother,
Nor give a ransom for him to God."¹

The word "God" introduced in the second line, which is only implied in the first, very emphatically completes the sense, which but for this would be imperfect. Men have ever sought out human systems of redemption. We may see the priest, we may bow low to his usurped authority, we may get his pretended absolution, we may "make an atonement," as they say, by almsgiving, masses, satisfactions, indulgencies, and such like vain inventions which an apostate church would persuade us are sufficient, but all these will not give "a ransom to GOD." None of us men can redeem his "brother" from sin and its sentence of death pronounced by our Creator and Judge; and we are thus pointed to Him, and to Him alone, "Who redeemed us to God by His blood."

A beautiful instance of the *Completive-Synonymous* occurs in a poetic description of the greatness and goodness of Jehovah as displayed by nature.

"The mighty trees are satisfied,
The cedars of Lebanon, which He has planted."²

The first line reads in our version, "The trees of the LORD are full [of sap]." But this expression, "trees of the LORD," that is, "trees of Jehovah," is evidently the well-known Hebrew superlative for "mighty trees," whilst *מָלֵא* here, which may possibly mean "are full," seems to require the same rendering as in verse 13, "are satisfied," that is, in His

¹ Ps. xlix.

² Ps. civ. 16.

watering "the mountains from His chambers," or in their own fair and flourishing condition.

In this couplet we have, in the second member of the verse, the added thought that it is God Himself Who *planted* these mighty cedars, as well as He Who supplies them annually with water enough to sustain their life and endue their vast limbs with strength and verdure.

Observe further striking instances of the *Completive-Synonymous* in the following verses :—

"When they were a few men in number,
Very few, and strangers in it."¹

"O Jehovah, the great avenging God !
O great avenging God, show Thyself!"²

"Jehovah, how long shall the wicked,
How long shall the wicked triumph?"³

"Give unto Jehovah, ye families of the peoples,
Give unto Jehovah the glory due unto His name."⁴

"Awake, awake, Deborah !
Awake, awake, utter a song!"⁵

"Kings came, they fought,
Then fought the kings of Canaan."⁶

"The river Kishon swept them away,
That river of battles, the river Kishon."⁷

The *Progressive-Synonymous* is not always easy to distinguish from the *Imperfect-Synonymous*, the *Explicative-Synonymous*, and the *Completive-Synonymous*, but there is a distinct shade of difference. Jebb, who seems to have overlooked the others, and confounded it with them, makes much of this. To use his own words, it is where the second member of the verse, or, as he calls it, "clause," "diversifies the preceding clause . . . so as to rise above it, forming a sort

¹ Ps. cv. 12.

² Ps. xciv. 1. Literally, "O God of vengeance," which is both a Hebrew genitive of character and plural of majesty requiring the rendering given above.

³ Ps. xciv. 3.

⁴ Ps. xcvi. 7, 8.

⁵ Judges v. 12.

⁶ Judges v. 19.

⁷ Judges v. 21.

of climax in the sense." It occurs more frequently in *Complex* than in *Simple Parallelism*, though some fine instances are to be found in the latter. In the noble triumphal ode of Deborah and Barak we have the following fine example :—

"Jehovah, when Thou wentest forth from Seir,
When Thou marchedst out of the field of Edom."¹

Here there is an impressive gradation from the "wentest forth" of the first line to the "marchedst out" of the second ; and from "Seir" to the fine *Periphrasis*, "the field of Edom."

Similarly, in the very next verse :—

"The mountains melted before Jehovah,
[Even] that Sinai before Jehovah, God of Israel."²

The thought progresses from "the mountains" in general to that magnificent mount of Horeb, Sinai, in all probability *Ras Sufsâfeh*, the mighty bluff of rosy granite that towers to the sky straight up from the plain of *Er Rakâh*, where Israel lay encamped ; and from "Jehovah" to the still more moving thought of His further and gracious Revelation of Himself as "the God of Israel."

So in Hosea's upbraiding cry—

"For your goodness is like the morning cloud,
And like the summer-sea-night-mist (לַבֹּקֶר), which early goes away,"³

we have a very beautiful illustration. Fully to understand this graphic allusion, the reader should consult my identification of the night-mist of the Palestine hot season in all its features with the לַבֹּקֶר of the Hebrew Bible.⁴ It comes between May and October each morning at dawn, when a west wind blows, in the form of a silvery cloud, the only cloud ordinarily seen at this time of the year, scattering a delicious, refreshing, fine night-rain, the only moisture from heaven that reaches this land of the sun for five consecutive dry months. But the last vestige of it has passed away from the Judæan hills by about eleven o'clock A.M., and long before this on eastern or southern slopes. The clouds themselves "go away," that is,

¹ Judges v. 4.

² Judges v. 5.

³ Hosea vi. 4.

⁴ *Palestine Explored*. pp. 129-151. 4th edition. J. Nisbet & Co.

are re-absorbed as invisible vapour by the warmed air very shortly after sunrise, and do not return till the following night.

Another fine example occurs in Hosea—

“For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice,
And the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.”¹

Here the single quality of mercy in the first line progresses in the onward rush of the second to “the knowledge of God,” the whole of the precepts of His revealed will; and “the sacrifice” of the first line grows into the crown and climax of all sacrificial service in “the burnt-offerings” of the second. In this, as in many other passages, *Synonymous Parallelism* affords valuable comment; for we learn from the literal statement of the last line that the “not” of the first is *Hyberbole* for “more than.” A similar use of this *Hyberbole* of the direct negative occurs in our Lord’s words to the toiling multitude who sought Him so eagerly on the other (north-western) side of the Lake of Galilee shortly after He had fed them by a miracle so plentifully on its north-eastern shore—

“Labour not for the food that perishes,
But for the food that endures unto everlasting life.”²

Which evidently means—

“But labour for the food that endures unto everlasting life,
More than you labour for the food that perishes.”

Note, too, the same *Progressive-Synonymous* form, grandly forcible, in the words of Jehovah—

“Therefore I hew [them] by the prophets,
I slay them by the words of My mouth.”³

Thus “hew” in the first line rushes on to the climax of “slay” in the second; whilst “by the prophets” of the first line is carried up in the second to the fountain and source of inspiration, “by the words of My mouth.” Here *Progressive-Synonymous Parallelism* brings out very powerfully the fulness of the inspiration of Holy Scripture. The verse sparkles with strong Eastern figures. “By the prophets” is clearly *Metonymy* for “by the words or writings of the prophets.” “I hew” and “I slay” are as plainly, by *Enallage*, “I declare

¹ Hosea vi. 6.

² John vi. 27.

³ Hosea vi. 5.

that I will hew," and "I declare that I will slay." For this last very familiar Scripture use of the active verb, by *Enallage*, not for "to do a thing," but "to declare that it would be done," compare the words of Pharaoh's butler, "Me he restored to my office, but him he hanged," that is, "Me he declared should be restored to my office, but him he declared should be hanged." See, too, Leviticus xiii. 6, 8, 11, where the priest is said "to cleanse" and "to pollute," when it is clear he is only "to declare" the person "cleansed," or "to declare" him "polluted." See also Acts x. 15; Isa. vi. 10; Jer. i. 10; Ezek. xlili. 3; all of which afford striking instances of this well-known Hebrew form of *Enallage*.

Generally in this *Progressive-Synonymous* form the thought ascends to a stronger, higher point, but at times it descends to a weaker, lower one. An instance of the latter occurs in the cry—

"Shall I give my first-born for my transgression?
The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"¹

Here the *bēhhoar*, the precious "firstborn" son, so highly esteemed in the East, of the first line descends to the lesser expression, "the fruit of my body," which may be any son, or even a despised daughter. How well this suits the prophet's thought of the worthlessness—the worthlessness which grows the more he thinks about it—of all human sacrifices!

Again Jeremiah exclaims—

"Cursed be the day on which I was born;
The day on which my mother bare me, let it not be blessed."²

The "let it not be blessed" of the second line repeats in a milder manner the "cursed be the day" of the first, a softening probably due to the thought of his mother, and also implying an assuaging of his despair.

The following afford other instances of the *Progressive-Synonymous* ascending in force—

"Until that I, Deborah, arose,
That I arose, a mother in Israel."³

"Curse ye, Meroz, said the angel of Jehovah,
Curse ye ever the inhabitants thereof."⁴

¹ Micah vi. 7. ² Jer. xx. 14. ³ Judg. v. 7. ⁴ Judg. v. 23.

"I knew thee in the wilderness,
In the land of great drought."¹

"As the soft-rain-fall (אֶשֶׁר יָרַם) upon the fresh-springing-grass,
As the heavy-copious-showers (וְהַבְּרִיבִים) upon the herbage."²

"And it shall be unto Jehovah for a memorial,
For an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off."³

"The ploughmen ploughed upon my back,
And made long furrows."⁴

"The righteous shall inherit the land,
And dwell therein for ever."⁵

"Let him that is athirst come ;
And he that will, let him take the water of life freely."⁶

The whole of this verse, Rev. xxii. 17, like so much of the New Testament, is evidently in the form of Hebrew poetry, and contains two *Cognate* or *Synonymous* couplets—

"The Spirit and the bride say 'come.'
And let him who hears say 'come.'

And let him that is athirst come ;
And he that will, let him take the water of life freely."

This being the case, the Arminian interpretation of the last line falls to the ground. The "Whosoever will" of our Version, which, let it be observed, is not the true translation, is quoted as if it stood alone, and was an exception to the universal rule of Holy Scripture that every invitation is conditioned to the anxious. But the true words, "he that will," in the second line of this couplet, answer to, and are plainly a *Synonymous* form of the "him that is athirst" of the first line, whilst the "come" of the first is equally explained to be the "taking the water of life freely" of the second. There is no exaggerating the importance of this poetical *Parallelism* of Hebrew thought which abounds both in the Hebrew of the Old Testament and in the Hebrew-Greek of the New, for the purposes of exegesis.

JAMES NEIL.

¹ Hosea xiii. 5.

² Deut. xxxii. 2.

³ Isa. lv. 13.

⁴ Ps. cxxix. 3.

⁵ Ps. xxxvii. 29.

⁶ Rev. xxii. 17.

JONATHAN.

IT is interesting to note the germs of a spirit of chivalry in the Bible. Scenes of bloodshed and strife and violence and woe are there to sadden us, for the Bible is a true Book, and gives a faithful picture of the rude and turbulent times of long ago. But ever and again in darkest days come gleams of light and love, soft sunbeams that pierce the clouds, and smile with fitful radiance, and are gone; snatches of heaven rescuing from its grimness, if but for a moment, some corner of this sombre earth. For wherever there is love, there is light—the light of heaven, the light of God. And earth has never been bereft altogether of this light. True hearts there have always been lit with the glow of friendship, of constancy, of loyalty, of devotion; and human nature need never be despaired of so long as there are such.

That the Jews were not exactly a chivalrous nation I suppose we must concede. The uniqueness of their position did not admit of this. Their sympathies were too narrow; the range of their interests too restricted. The light-heartedness was wanting. Such a thing as a Jewish tournament we could hardly picture. They were too terribly in earnest when they *were* in earnest, like the Puritans of a later day who had drunk of their spirit. The requirements of the Divine code under which their national life took shape went deeper than any mere code of honour, and left in a sense no room for it. It covered all their life. Theirs was emphatically not a state of freedom. It was a state of tutelage, a childhood. There was little free play accorded to them. They were those whom God had separated, and was training for a purpose. All the more interesting, then, is it to take note of such traces of early chivalry as the Bible records supply. One of the delights of foreign travel is to find growing wild in other countries plants that are only known perhaps as exotics at home. But the chivalry proper of a later age was largely an

exotic growth. Your mediæval knight was at best rather an artificial personage. The bloom of naturalness was not on him. His courtesy was beautiful, but scarcely spontaneous ; it was rather the forced product of an elaborated system. Where like dispositions spring indigenous from the virgin soil of a true heart, they may lack something of the symmetry that is gained by culture, but they have the charm of native freshness which does more than compensate. It is always worth while to push the investigation back to search out the brave who were before Agamemnon, the wise who were before Solon, the precursors in every department of human excellence of such as made those excellences current coin.

To glean a few instances, then, from Scripture. There was a touch of the knight-errant about Moses when by that well in the land of Midian his spirit would not suffer him to remain a passive spectator of the rude molestation offered to the women by the shepherds. Undiscouraged by the failure of his previous efforts elsewhere to intervene as the champion of the oppressed, he stood up alone with that authority that seems native to the gentle soul, and helped the helpless women, and watered their flock. Again there was chivalry in the attitude of Ittai the Gittite, when, in view of the impending vicissitudes of exile, David offered to release him from his fealty as one to whom no appeal on the score of patriotism at all events could be fairly made. "And Ittai answered the king, and said, As the Lord liveth, and as my lord the king liveth, surely in what place my lord the king shall be, whether in death or life, even there also will thy servant be." The order is significant—"in death or life." Truly it was a noble answer. This Gittite takes rank along with Ruth the Moabitess ; nor lingers far behind the Jewess Esther, who measured the risk to herself, and faced it ; and "If I perish, I perish," she calmly said : the worst is all but upon us, if the worse be only this. There was chivalry again in the exploit of the three mighty men who "went in jeopardy of their lives," and brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David—a spontaneous tribute of

personal devotion to their lord. And yet again. Did the true knight of a later day scorn to take a mean advantage, or to fail in courtesy to a fallen foe, he finds his prototype in the prophet Elisha, who, to the eager question of the king of Israel, "My father, shall I smite them? shall I smite them?" made answer promptly with high-souled disdain, "Thou shalt not smite them: wouldest thou smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and with thy bow? Set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their master?" Though other instances might be given, I will add but one. The flower of Old Testament chivalry meets us in Jonathan. It is a trite phrase this, but carries its own suggestiveness along with it; for he is one of those, if I may so say, whom in fancy one would assign specifically to the flower-garden of Scripture. Judaism was a nursery for the Christ, a chosen plot under cultivation for the promised Seed. Lives have their meaning, and events their value, according to the place they fill in reference to the Messianic hope. The preparation for a harvest of blessing to be reaped in the fulness of time is the Divine *motif* running through all. This covers most of the ground. But there are just a few lives that blossom, as it were, outside all this, that might have been dispensed with for aught they were to contribute to the great after-reaping, yet which add a brightness and beauty of their own, something of sweetness and grace, without which the pages of Scripture would show less fair. Even such was the life of Jonathan. Let us consider, then, a little what manner of man this was.

Of his early years, the influences that moulded his childhood, we know nothing. There is only just the hint afforded by his name. For this eldest son of Saul was called Jonathan, "the gift of Jehovah," while of his younger sons, one was called Melchi-Shua, "the help of Moloch"; and another Ish-baal, "the man of Baal." This would seem to show that Saul's own religious feelings were yet strong in him when Jonathan was born. Bishop Hall perhaps overlooks what the father once had been, when he remarks in that quaint trenchant way of his, "Worthy Jonathan, which sprang from Saul, as some

sweet imp grows out of a crab-stock, is therefore full of valour, because full of faith." He appears for the first time in full light upon the scene as the adventurous young warrior advancing almost single-handed against a garrison of the Philistines. It was a daring exploit, such as Joab or Abishai might have loved to attempt. Only Joab with all his valour was treacherous, and Abishai was cruel; whereas Jonathan was true as steel, and as gentle as he was brave. It was an exploit that none could have performed save one who was at home among the wild crags, sure of footing, swift to spring, able to rough it through a long day with strength of limb, quickness of eyesight, and steadiness of nerve. Herein he was like Esau; but a wild free roving animal life sufficed for Esau, whereas Jonathan was a true soldier of God. He was "therefore full of valour, because full of faith." He was not one of those who would leave religion to women and children, deeming it unmanly to fear God. But in all circumstances, not only in the camp and on the battle-field, but in his home, and in "the chastening discipline of common life," he did his duty steadfastly and fearlessly as only a man can do who is true to some higher promptings than the mere thought of self supplies. In him we see the heroic character of a Hector rather than of an Achilles. Achilles may have been the more splendid figure, but Hector was the more lovable, responding to the call of duty as the other to the call of fame, and fit to shine in other scenes than those of the battlefield by reason of the gentle spirit, the finely-tempered nature, that was in him. One of the most pathetic passages in the *Iliad* is the lament of Helen for Hector. He was the one of all her lord's kith and kin who had thoroughly won her love. None felt more keenly the mischief Paris had wrought; none had more reason to look reproachfully upon the woman whose unwelcome presence in Troy was jeopardizing all that he held dear: yet Helen with fast-falling tears declares that she had never had from him one wounding or spiteful word; nay, that he had stood her friend when others upbraided, so that when Hector was by the cruel tongues were hushed. He had been gentle and considerate always, and his generous readiness

to intervene on her behalf a comfort inexpressible throughout her sojourn at this foreign court, where none had been at pains to disguise their detestation.¹

It is a touching testimony, and counts for much. A mighty slaughterman was Achilles in his wrath, but "the grand old name of gentleman" we keep for Hector. In like mould was the young warrior of Israel cast. There was enmity, bitter enmity, between his father and his best friend, and this placed him in the most trying position; yet through it all he was true to his father, and through it all he was true to his friend. Had he allowed himself to be swayed by ambition, or to be carried away with the romance of friendship, he must have broken with one or the other. It was only the self-discipline of a really God-fearing man that enabled him to go true and straight, putting self on one side, nor yielding to his own feelings till he had tried them by the test of the will of God. For he was not deficient in spirit, nor possibly in ambition; and at the same time the people loved him, and he must have been conscious of possessing qualities that well fitted him to be Israel's king. But, as Bacon has well remarked, it is not the really great man, but the "man that hath no virtue in himself," that "ever envieth virtue in others." What made it harder for him was that his father distinctly tried to inspire him with his own jealousy: "Thou son of the perverse rebellious woman," he exclaimed in one of his dark moods of frenzy, "do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thine own confusion? . . . For as long as the son of Jesse liveth upon the ground, thou shalt not be established, nor thy kingdom." It was perfectly true. If purse or crown be dearer than good name, then Jonathan *was* standing in his own light most effectually by screening David as he did from his father's anger, and by serving his interests with such unfaltering fidelity. But Jonathan knew what he was about. He was not an Esau trashing away in thoughtlessness the birthright for the loss of which he would hereafter come to weep in vain. He had

¹ See *Iliad* xxiv. 761-776.

plighted troth deliberately and advisedly, and his chivalrous spirit would never suffer him to turn traitor, even though it were to win a crown. Whom else can David have been thinking of when in later days he portrayed "the figure of stainless honour" in the 15th Psalm? "Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle: or who shall rest upon Thy holy hill? Even he, that leadeth an uncorrupt life: and doeth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart. He that hath used no deceit in his tongue, nor done evil to his neighbour: and hath not slandered his neighbour. He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes: and maketh much of them that fear the Lord. He that sweareth unto his neighbour, and disappointeth him not: though it were to his own hindrance."

But had David been true on his part? it might be urged. Was it not treacherous by Jonathan that he should entertain the thought of being king? No, Jonathan would have answered. This comes not of his own seeking. It is the Lord who hath so appointed it. The God to whom the first allegiance of us both is owing requires that it should be so; and let that suffice. To fail in my fidelity to David would be to fail in my fidelity to God. Whatever others may say or think, no word or look of mine shall ever give David reason for supposing that I reckon him untrue to me in accepting the high destiny to which God has called him. In his self-abnegation the man who could reason thus ranks nigh to him who was the Bridegroom's friend, him who effaced himself before great David's greater Son, and whose place, for all he was so nobly gifted, was still but on the outer threshold of the kingdom, like Moses viewing from a height apart the rich inheritance into the possession of which it was Joshua, not himself, that should conduct the people.

I do love to think of that last recorded meeting between the two friends, when "Jonathan Saul's son arose, and went to David into the wood, and strengthened his hand in God" (1 Sam. xxiii. 16). This friendship with Jonathan would seem to have been the one softening influence in David's life at a time when everything else must have been tending rather

to harden him and to make him reckless. It is to Aristotle we owe the counsel, so admirable because so scrupulously altruistic, that, in the delicacy of his consideration for those he loves, a man should be forward in prosperity, and backward in adversity, to summon his friends about him; while the friend on his part should be as ready to fly to him who may have need of him in trouble, as he will be shy of intruding uninvited on his good fortune, lest any semblance of self-seeking should cloud the friendship.¹ Well, Jonathan had it in him to do what the Greek philosopher taught. In his friend's extremity he discerned his opportunity.

Those were, indeed, among the darkest days of David's chequered career. He was an outlaw in constant peril of his life. Saul's malice seemed to know no bounds. He was determined to hunt him down. He was like a bloodhound on his track. Where to flee to David knew not. The future was as black as possible. His hope was almost gone. His faith had well-nigh failed. This outlaw's life had altered him in many ways for the worse. But Jonathan had not forgotten him. His quick sympathy made him aware how desolate and despairing David must then be feeling. And so, when he got to know that David was hiding in the wood, though it was as much as his own life was worth if he should be discovered in communication with his father's enemy, "Jonathan Saul's son arose, and went to David into the wood, and strengthened his hand in God." Such are the touching words of Scripture; he "strengthened his hand in God." Many are the kind offices that one friend may render to another, but this is the kindest and the best of all. St. Peter thought to do the part of a friend when he bade his Master put aside the thought of coming sufferings. The brethren at Tyre meant kindly when they besought St. Paul not to go up to Jerusalem where bonds and afflictions were awaiting him. But there was no real kindness here. It only made it harder for St. Paul, as for his Master, to be thus dissuaded from the path of duty—"What mean ye to weep and to break mine

¹ See Arist., *Eth. Nic.* ix. 11.

heart?" he cried. His hand was weakened, and not strengthened by their entreaties. It was otherwise when for the last time Jonathan had speech with David. Neither knew that it was their last meeting; yet, had they known, they could not well have wished it different—just they two by themselves in the solitary wood, perhaps in the stillness of the night, and opening out their hearts to each other so freely. No hard unkind things were said about anybody. No words were wasted over trivial and unworthy matters. Together they faced the future, accepting dutifully, so far as they could discern it, the lot which God was marking out for each. With all sacredness as beneath the eye of Heaven they renewed their pledges of friendship with each other. Together they must have knelt and prayed. And if David felt, as never before, the wonderful unselfish generosity of his friend, and was troubled with the thought of seeming to take unfair advantage of it, Jonathan himself was there to smooth away his scruples, and to set his mind at rest, while strengthening his hand in God. Often in after years must David have thought of that last meeting, often must he have longed to have Jonathan once more beside him, as, when hardly holding his own against the masterful Joab, "These men the sons of Zeruiah be too hard for me," he said. Oh! to have Jonathan back again with his gentle chivalrous spirit; but it could not be.

There is something inexpressibly touching in the lamentation wherein the feelings of the new king found vent when the news reached him of the fatal issue of the bloody fight on Mount Gilboa. In its inception it strikes one as a studied composition, a sort of national ode designed to give expression to the feelings of the people at a time of deep emotion, such an ode as we should look for nowadays from the Poet Laureate. It is the nation's point of view that is adopted. The Saul commemorated is the Saul who was worthy to live in popular recollection, the nobler Saul of earlier better days, the warrior tall and swift and strong and dauntless, the champion to be admired, the leader to be trusted, the king in all things kingly, in whom great hopes centred and were not belied.

Nor in any eyes were such an ode complete if there fell no equal meed of praise on him who was one with Saul in valour and renown, the gallant Jonathan, his soldier son, his inseparable comrade in all martial exploits, whose daring was unsurpassed, whose fidelity was unswerving, who had fought as heroes fight, and now had fallen as heroes fall, in death as in life dutiful to his father, loyal to his king. If their two swords could not purchase victory, then together they could but die. It is at this point that David's personal feelings fairly master him. He had studiously discarded the personal point of view in speaking about Saul. To a generous nature such as his it was easy so to do, and Death by his very ruthlessness commends memories to mercy. But when David comes to speak of Jonathan all other considerations are swallowed up in the sense of personal loss. "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan : very pleasant hast thou been unto me : thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women." The words are few, and they are simple, but if ever words came straight from the heart these did. His whole soul quivers under the stress of one emotion, "*desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri*," a yearning regret for the fastest fondest friend man ever had. Is it the moral of such moments that it were better never to have loved at all ? Only a Stoic would reason so. It is the glory of our humanity to be susceptible of such a grief. The future may show all dark, the present be all tearful, but from the past a light still streams, and the murky foreground is relieved by the soft rainbow's chastened glow, in which all tender memories sweetly blend. Every life that had light in it, though fallen behind, projects a brightness forwards that is like a pledge of promise. Hope could scarce be if memory were not. We thank the poet who enriched the chart celestial with "the Morning-star of Memory." They live in our thoughts the dear ones who are gone, they who were tried and trusted, they who were gentle and pure, they whose affection lifted us and strengthened us ; and they are "thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof that they were born for immortality."

F. G. CHOLMONDELEY.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

On the Apocalypse. FIFTY years ago Dr. David Brown published a book on the Second Advent, and he tells us "that he has not written a line on prophecy since. But the successive editions of that work and the increased attention given to prophecy in its bearing on the *time* when the second coming of our Lord is to be expected, led to a desire, repeatedly expressed, that he should write something on the Book of Revelation," induced him to take up his pen on the subject, and the result is a "booklet" (1) which we could well desire should have been a book—yea, a book in volumes. Dr. Brown issues it, as he says, with more than diffidence, but we have here the proof that old age has not dimmed his faculties; it has neither robbed the mind of its acumen, nor the pen of its facility. The work opens with an Introduction in three parts; the first on the Authenticity of the Apocalypse, which Dr. Brown supports; the second on the Date of the Apocalypse, in which he first considers the arguments for the Neronian date, showing their insufficiency; and then he states his reasons for believing that St. John's Gospel, Epistles, and the Apocalypse were all written in the Apostle's old age; and these we must say are strong and weighty. The third part of the Introduction is occupied with a consideration of the Design of the Apocalypse, in which he examines the claims of the non-predictive or purely descriptive theory. Dr. Brown does not agree with Archdeacon Lee's spiritual view, nor with Prof. Milligan that the book deals with principles rather than particular events. Dr. Brown belongs himself to the Futurist school of interpreters. The two latter parts of the Introduction have been published in the *Expositor*. There follows next an Addendum, in which Sir Wm. Hamilton's attack on the Apocalypse is stated and thoroughly pulverized. And so on the sixty-fourth page of the book we come to the main subject, viz., *The Structure of the Apocalypse*, which occupies 144 pages. Dr. Brown points out that the artistic structure of the Apocalypse is one of its most striking features. This, indeed, is seen in the first sentence, in the salutation, and autobiographical account of the writer. The artistic structure of the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia, and

their similarity of plan, is very apparent. "But it is not till we come to the strictly prophetic part of this book that its artistic structure is seen to be not only a feature of peculiar interest, but an indispensable key to the right understanding of the march of events. . . . The *Choral Hymns*, which throw so great a charm over this book, are designed, I believe, for the same purpose as the *Chorus* in the Tragedies of the Greek Theatre." The first of these hymns Dr. Brown calls the Grand Inaugural Hymn, and holds that it embraces all that Infinite Wisdom saw fit the Church should know of its future fortunes. And if so, it will follow that all the successive visions of the book are but sub-divisions of this one. Dr. Brown owns his obligations to Joseph Mede, whose *Clavis Apocalyptica* first set him on his feet. Following his master, Dr. Brown then discusses the seven seals; then the seven trumpets, and the seven vials, inaugurated with the second Grand Choral Hymn, the Song of Moses and the Lamb. This discussion, of course, involves notices of the Woman and the Dragon, the Beast and his Image, the Two Witnesses, the Fall of Babylon, the Last Great War, the Millennium, the Final Judgment. Dr. Brown does not always agree with the Revised Version, or with Dr. Westcott; but he always gives good reason for his own opinion, and writes fairly and in the best spirit. For a fuller discussion of the Millennium, he refers his readers to his former work. We may add that Dr. Brown points out the Romish Church as being the object of much of the prophetic denunciations of the Apocalypse; and in the Addenda he shows that for 1260 years the Waldenses and other faithful witnesses for Christ, who really formed the *true Church of Christ, were nowhere to be seen*; and so there was wanting that "note" of a true Church of which the Church of Rome boasts the unique possession, viz., visibility. Dr. Brown's little work will be a great help towards duly understanding that most interesting and most difficult book, the Apocalypse, and should be welcomed by all students of the Scriptures.

The Rev. Arthur Isham is also the author of a work on the Apocalypse, the full title of which is, *An Historical Interpretation of the Book called in the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Ephrem MSS. a Revelation of John* (2); otherwise, a Revelation of Jesus Christ, given to Him of God, showing the Bride of Christ conducted to glory through successive ages and alarms. It is apparently the work of a man of years and experience, and evinces considerable learning, though the arrangement of the materials might be much more

artistically and effectively made. There are two sets of errata noted, and these do not include all, as, for example, on p. 66, &c., where we find *δυσιαστήριον* for *θυσιαστήριον*. Dr. Brown sees no reason why in the R.V. *bowls* should be put for vials; but Mr. Isham puts *phials*, which seems to take away the dignity of the thing entirely. Mr. Isham agrees with Dr. Brown in considering that the Romish Church is symbolized in the Scarlet Woman, &c. There is a good deal that is interesting and valuable within the compass of this work, but the reader will have to search it out. This, in its way, may be beneficial; but we doubt if all readers will have the patience necessary. The chapter on the vision of the New Jerusalem contains a dissertation on the precious stones mentioned there and in other parts of the Bible; and from these Mr. Isham wanders to the coloured stars. His idea is that "the brilliant colours of gems on earth, of skies, and their rainbows, and the variegated tints of stars coming within our present experience, appear to be used as keys of interpretation to unlock our senses, that we may see the glories that are to come. After all, they open but a chink of the everlasting doors." In the Appendices the extent of the Roman Empire, Angel Ministration, and other matters are discussed.

The Practical Teaching of the Apocalypse (3) is a work on different lines from either of the foregoing. It contains a valuable introductory chapter, and the whole work is a sort of homiletical commentary on the Revelation. It will probably be helpful to teachers and preachers in their official capacity, and will be useful undoubtedly to any one who wishes to understand the Apocalypse. It is conceived in a reverent spirit, and there is nothing very novel in any of its conclusions. The idea seems to be that the Apocalypse predicts the history of the Church, and so contains lessons that will be useful in every age and under all circumstances, but though the teaching seems forced sometimes, there is a great deal of it which is worth diligent attention, and, as we believe, the value of this work will not be truly seen without frequent perusal and careful thought. In an Appendix Mr. Garland discusses the Eternity of Matter, and strives to show that in regard to this question Religion and Science are not in antagonism. The table of symbolical meanings of numbers and periods of time is curious.

(1) *The Structure of the Apocalypse*. By David Brown, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1891.

(2) *An Historical Interpretation of the Book of the Revelation of St. John*. By the Rev. Arthur Isham, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1890.

(3) *The Practical Teaching of the Apocalypse*. By the Rev. G. V. Garland. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

The Clergyman's Magazine is ably edited by the Rev. Francis B. Proctor, and printed and published in the highest style of excellence by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. Vol I. of the Third Series contains papers on Thrift and other useful matters, together with Sermons, Sermon Notes, and Addresses by various authors of note. The addresses "to my younger brethren," by Rev. H. C. G. Moule, contain much that is very valuable, and Canon Wynne's suggestions for the Confirmation Class are good.

The Expositor, from the same publishers, as usual, has a goodly array of first-rate contributors. Prof. Cheyne's Brevia are interesting, and Prof. Sanday's Survey of the Synoptic Question is well done. Indeed, all the articles are worthy of careful attention; and where so much is excellent, individual notice seems almost invidious.

The Expository Times (T. & T. Clark) runs on its useful course, and is to be enlarged both in size and price. At present it is a marvel of cheapness, and edited with remarkable ability.

The Homiletic Review keeps up to its old level of excellence, and is a most helpful magazine for the preacher and teacher, who cannot fail to profit by the stores of learning collected and exhibited with such evident skill.

Christian Thought is a bi-monthly magazine, edited by C. F. Deems, and published by Wilbur B. Ketcham, New York. It contains much valuable reading, and keeps well abreast of the times, answering very thoroughly to its title. It is essentially a periodical for thoughtful people.

The Bibliotheca Sacra (E. J. Goodrich, Oberlin, Ohio) needs no encomium of ours; it is seldom anything but excellent, and the current number contains many good articles. Prof. Simon's Doctrine of the Testimonium Spiritus is continued; and so is Mr. W. W. Kinsley's essay on Science and Prayer. Mr. Mead's discussion as to Cicero's writings and St. Paul's is curious and suggestive.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, for July, 1891 (New York: Anson D. Randolph & Co.), is a very good number. The article on Tolstoi as a Reformer is interesting; and Mr. G. A. Smith's Isaiah is fairly criticized by Mr. G. C. M. Douglas. The "Current Literature" section of this periodical is very well done.

The Canadian Methodist Quarterly has nine editors and a business manager in Toronto; the result is creditable to all concerned. The Gospel of Justice, by A. R. Carman, is evidently inspired by Mr. George, but is well worth reading; and the same may be said, indeed, of all the other articles in the current number.

The second number of the *Nouvelle Revue de Théologie* (J. Granie, Montaubon) is before us, and is exceedingly interesting. We welcome this periodical as a further sign of life among the Reformed Churches on the Continent.

NOVEMBER 1891

The Theological Monthly

PROFESSOR HUXLEY AND AGNOSTICISM.

WHAT is an Agnostic, and what the relationship of Agnosticism on the one hand to Scepticism, and on the other to the Faith?

It is easy to understand an Agnostic's objection to being called an infidel ; not so easy to determine what his attitude, if consistent, to Christianity ought to be. Seeing that Gnostics were accounted heretics, there is nothing in the name itself inconsistent with the Agnostic being a Christian. But what is the name intended to connote? Professor Huxley tells us that he devised it to express the condition of one who is quite sure that he has not solved the problem of existence, and yet has the firm conviction that he is on the straight road. This description will apply equally well to the Christian. St. Paul also was quite sure that he had not fully solved the riddle of existence, and that he was on the right road to solve it, when he wrote, " Now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known." Turning to philosophy, the Professor appeals to Kant as a witness that " the greatest and perhaps the sole use of all philosophy of pure reason is, after all, merely negative, since it serves not as an organon for the enlargement of knowledge, but as a discipline for its delimitation ; and instead of discovering truth, has only the modest merit of preventing error." If we add to this a sentence from the Preface to the second edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, " I had therefore to remove knowledge in order to make room for belief," the position once more becomes that of the Christian, who holds that truth in religion is not to be

discovered by reason or philosophy, but to be apprehended by faith. Again, we are told that the single principle of the Agnostic is to try all things, and his only obligation, to have the mind always open to conviction, so that the really consistent Agnostic would even listen patiently to one who offered to prove that two and two make five. It is not likely that any one will disturb the conviction of the Agnostic that he is on the right road by seriously denying that two and two make four; but there are other fundamental facts or assumptions, whichever we ought to call them, on which some Agnostics seem disposed to rely, that have been, and still are, called in question by earnest thinkers—such, for example, as the permanence and reality of matter, and the universality of the law of causation. On such points, therefore, which certainly do admit of question and doubt, since, as a matter of fact, they are questioned and doubted, the consistent Agnostic must keep his mind open to conviction, and admit that nothing is absolutely proved. And if certainty is not attainable with regard to those widest generalizations which form the foundation of scientific theory, still more must it be necessary to keep the mind open with regard to the superstructure of special scientific theories which, resting upon general hypotheses themselves not absolutely demonstrated, are subject to the further uncertainty introduced by a long and intricate deduction. With regard, therefore, to any received scientific theory, the Agnostic, while holding it to be the best at present attainable, must yet, if he is consistent, admit that as former views on the subject have been modified by the advance of knowledge, so also our present views may be, and probably will be, modified in the future.

But this recognition of the progressive nature or "evolution" of knowledge, and the consequent inadequacy of the view of truth presented at any particular time, finds a place also in the Christian system. The Apostle Paul declares his knowledge of religious truth to be a clear light as compared with the darkness of former days—the times of ignorance of the heathen world, and the partial revelation of the law and the prophets to the Jews; but at the same time

he declares it to be only seeing as in a mirror darkly in comparison with the still clearer vision to be hereafter attained. Our own position as Christians in the present day is the same. We hold that the time spoken of by the Apostle when we shall see face to face, and know as we are known, is still future, and therefore we cannot attribute finality to our present knowledge expressed in creed and dogma. It is the best expression of the truth we can reach now, but when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away.

In yet another way the application of Agnostic principles leads to a comparison between scientific and religious truth. Professor Huxley complains that the earliest sources of our information as to the facts of Christianity are tainted with uncertainty, "Every one of the Gospel records is coloured by the prepossessions of those among whom the primitive traditions arose, and of those by whom they were collected and edited." But there is nothing in this peculiar to the Gospels. All records of every kind are coloured by the prepossessions of those who compiled them. Even Professor Huxley himself cannot escape from the influence of his environment, nor need we make any such claim on behalf of the first witnesses to Christianity, seeing that they certainly make none such for themselves. St. Paul threw himself thoroughly into his surroundings and became all things to all men, and he tells us that we have the treasure in earthen vessels. And if we turn from history to science the same difficulty confronts us. Science, so far as it deals with the external world and not merely with our own ideas, as in pure mathematics, is necessarily founded on observation. No other authority can be discovered by which to establish the facts on which any scientific induction rests, except the testimony of our senses. But the first result of scientific reasoning, is to discredit in a very large measure this testimony of the senses on which it rests. All our knowledge of astronomy, for example, must be based on our observation of the movements of the heavenly bodies. We see the sun move in the heavens, but science tells us that our senses deceive us, that the sun does not really move. Again, if we look at a rock or a tree,

our senses tell us that it is coloured, just as plainly as they tell us that it has size or shape. But here again science steps in and says that our senses have deceived us. Colour is not a property of matter in the same sense that extension is, but an effect produced in us by certain rapid vibrations acting on part of our own organism. What has the Agnostic to say to this? If he is forced to admit that our senses deceive us in certain important particulars, is he prepared to maintain as certain without all doubt that our senses do not deceive us in everything? Or is he prepared on the other hand to abandon science altogether, and to say that no certainty can be reached when the testimony of the original witnesses on which alone we can rely is thus impeached?

The uncertainty which thus lies at the roots both of philosophy and science may be thought to justify the sceptic in maintaining that no philosophic theory, neither idealism, nor simple realism, nor the transcendental realism of Kant, nor the transformed realism of Spencer, can be demonstrated to be true. But though they may often have been united in the same person, philosophic scepticism is not the same thing as practical unbelief. A man who holds that demonstration is unattainable outside of mathematics and formal logic, may at the same time hold with Butler that any degree of practical assurance can be reached by the accumulation of probable evidence. Thus a sceptic while holding that no metaphysical theory is demonstrable may yet believe some metaphysical propositions to be true; and in the same way he may believe in the truth of religion while denying it to be a matter of demonstration. To defend scepticism is therefore not necessarily to attack religion; on the contrary, a "Defence of Philosophic Doubt" may at the same time be a defence of religious faith.

But the attitude of Agnosticism towards religion is not determined solely by the application of Professor Huxley's single principle, "to try all things." When Christianity comes to be tried by the Agnostic standard, a special canon is laid down. Miracles, it is said, are so extremely improbable that the evidence adduced is not sufficient to prove them,

though it would suffice to prove even very improbable non-miraculous events. That the centurion in charge of a crucifixion should, without any apparent motive, certify the death of the crucified person when he was not dead ; that he should then be taken down alive from the cross, and afterwards escape from the tomb, in spite of special precautions, certainly appear to be a very improbable series of events. Yet, assuming that the resurrection may be explained in this way, Professor Huxley sees no reason to doubt the accuracy of the account given in the second Gospel—that is to say, he holds the evidence sufficient to prove an improbable non-miraculous event, but not sufficient to prove a miracle. It is evident, then, that the question hinges upon this point of the extreme improbability of miracles. If miracles, after all, are not so improbable, then Professor Huxley himself admits that we have evidence sufficient to prove them. What, then, is the nature of the improbability alleged ? It has sometimes been argued that miracles are improbable in the sense that they are very rare occurrences. If they ever happen at all, they happen very seldom. A miracle has never taken place within our own experience, or within the experience of any one that we know, or of many millions of respectable persons who (we assume) would certainly have made it known if anything so remarkable as a miracle had been witnessed by them. Something of this kind is all that can really be signified by the statement that miracles are contrary to universal experience, and it might be said in reply that the supposed unanimity of experience is manufactured by the simple expedient of neglecting the testimony of a large number of persons who assert that miracles have occurred within their knowledge. To say nothing of past times, there are persons now living who say that miracles have fallen within their own experience.

It is evident, then, that the improbability of miracles, if it is to be a serious obstacle to our belief in them, must be of a different kind from this. It must, in fact, be based upon the acceptance of some theory of the universe with which miracles are inconsistent. Of course, if we deny the existence of

spirit, and assume that nothing exists except atoms, the motions of which are, or may be, the subject of mathematical calculations, miracles are highly improbable, or, we may rather say, impossible. But what ground have we for any such assumption? Seeing that the only existence of which we are directly cognisant is the existence of soul—for "I, as thinking, am an object of the internal sense, and am called soul"¹—and all other existence is only an inference from those affections of self which we are forced to regard as impressions made upon us from without, it would seem that to deny the existence of spirit and assert the sole existence of matter is to make our conclusion contradict our premises.² On the other hand, if we believe in the existence of a Supreme Spirit, a Personal God, who may reasonably be thought willing to communicate with our spirits, then miracles are no longer improbable. But is this belief itself improbable from an Agnostic point of view? Herbert Spencer, though he declines to use the name of God, yet tells us that amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there remains one absolute certainty, that man is in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed, or by which all things are created and sustained.³ And though this Eternal Energy is said to be unknowable, yet this does not, according to Mr. Herbert Spencer's method, prevent us from drawing any conclusions about it. The idea of external force is derived from the conscious exercise of muscular force, and to the last the man of science is compelled to symbolize objective force in terms of subjective force, from lack of any other symbol. But this does not deprive our ideas of the external forces of all truth or meaning; we still draw true conclusions about the force of gravity, though we may be compelled to symbolize it in subjective terms. In like manner, though we may be compelled to symbolize the attributes of God in

¹ *Critique of Pure Reason*, p. 342. Max Müller's Translation.

² The necessity we are under to think of the external energy in terms of the internal energy, gives rather a spiritualistic than a materialistic aspect to the Universe.—Herbert Spencer, in the *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1884.

³ *Nineteenth Century*, January and July, 1884.

terms of human attributes, we are not thereby precluded from drawing any conclusions about them. Again, "though the attribute of personality, as we know it, cannot be conceived by us as an attribute of the unknown cause of things, yet . . . the choice is not between personality and something lower than personality, but between personality and something higher." This is surely just what a Christian might say about the personality of God. When we speak of God as a Person, we certainly do not mean that He is subject to such limitations as our personality entails upon us. The Athanasian Creed is an attempt to formulate, as far as human thought and language will permit, the idea of a Personality which is higher than (our) personality. And what Mr. Herbert Spencer says about the personality may, with equal reason, be said about the will and intelligence of the First Cause. If we cannot attribute to the Absolute and Unchangeable God a will which, like our own will, necessarily supposes a series of states of consciousness and an intelligence which presupposes existences independent of and objective to Him—still the choice lies not between will and intelligence and something lower, but between will and intelligence, as we know them, and something higher.¹ If we add to this the statement that "the Power which manifests itself throughout the Universe is the same power which in ourselves wells up under the form of consciousness," or, "the power which manifests itself in consciousness is but a differently conditioned form of the power which manifests itself beyond consciousness"—it will appear that there is nothing in Herbert Spencer's idea of the First Cause inconsistent with the idea that lies at the root of the Christian view of revelation—that God wills to communicate with His creature man.

Perhaps, however, it will still be said that as we profess to see the Power and Goodness of God displayed in the orderly working of those laws which He has established for the governance of the world, it is inconsistent to believe that He would, for the purpose of communicating with His creatures, or for any other purpose, break through those laws by miracle.

¹ So, too, of the thought of God. "His thoughts are not as our thoughts."

But is a miracle so great a violation of the ordinary course of nature as this argument seems to imply? A reference to the "Miracles of Nature" has become a commonplace of Christian apologetics, but perhaps the proper force of that reference is not always perceived. It seems to show this, that the power by which miracles may be worked is always with us. We are always in the presence of the Infinite and Eternal Energy, but we are always ignorant of the way in which that Energy works, of the true nexus between it and physical effects. The chains of causation which we trace through nature all break short at the last link. We explain, for example, many things about the life and growth of plants and animals by natural law, but the life itself we cannot explain. Wine is formed in ways which we call natural when its elements are united in the vine, and rearranged in the ferment. But what are these forces which combine and separate? In the language of Herbert Spencer, variously conditioned forms of the one Power which manifests itself beyond consciousness. In the language of theology, the power of God working in nature. And since we know nothing of the way in which this power ordinarily works, why should we regard it as a breach of order if the same power should work in some other way equally unknown to us to produce the same result? And we have the same power manifested in consciousness. Man has in himself the power to work miracles,¹ though not the knowledge to exercise that power at will. The mutual operation of the power within us and the world without is a standing miracle, whether we regard it from the side of knowledge or from the side of action. "Our sensuous knowledge, so far as its material is concerned, will always remain the standing miracle of our life on earth."² And our action on the external world is equally mysterious. The influence of volition over the organs of the body is a fact; but is there any principle in nature more mysterious than this union of soul with body? "Were we empowered by a secret wish to remove mountains or control the planets in their

¹ So Jesus claimed to work miracles as the Son of Man (St. Matt. ix. 6).

² Max Müller's *Introductory Lectures on the Science of Thought*.

orbits, this extensive authority would not be more extraordinary, nor more beyond our comprehension."¹ And this is no mere figure of speech. We do not call these things miraculous only in a rhetorical sense because they are wonderful, but because the very definition and idea of a miracle is the production of physical or external effects from causes which are not physical. And the reality of the miracle is attested by the violence of the attempts that have been made to explain it away or avoid it, as by the theory of the pre-established harmony, or by the sheer denial of the fact that the will does influence action.

Again, the will moves the limbs, but not immediately. There is a chain of movements in joint and muscle and nerve which can be at least partially understood and explained on mechanical principles. But the first link in the physical chain is a change or molecular movement in the brain of which we are not conscious. And there are other molecular and atomic movements in the body of which also we are unconscious, but which subserve the purposes of the soul. By a combination of such movements the body itself is formed and moulded to be the instrument of the soul, and even in a sense to be the likeness of the soul, so that the character is written on the features. What is the force by which these movements are produced? Can we give any better account of it to-day than that which was given at the beginning of philosophy, "The soul wears out many bodies in the course of a long life. While the man is alive the body deliquesces and decays, and the soul always weaves another body and repairs the waste."² The latest speculations of German philosophy can do no more than substitute the term "unconscious will" for soul. If, then, the operations of unconscious will could be raised into consciousness, would they not at once be acknowledged as miraculous?

But there is one group of miracles specially referred to by Professor Huxley which he declares to be improbable upon different grounds. Casting out devils is improbable (not to

¹ Hume, quoted by Noire in his Historical Introduction to the *Critique of Pure Reason*.

² Plato—*Phaedo*. Jowett's Translation.

say impossible), because there are no devils to cast out. The question thus raised is, however, rather one of names than of facts. It is admitted that those affections of the human subject which were once universally ascribed to possession are real; and if, as appears to be the case, Professor Huxley regards them as forms of insanity, it is also generally admitted that some of the higher animals are capable of the same or similar affections. Hence the objection that devils do not exist does not apply to the miracle itself, but to the description of it. In fact, the difficulty from this point of view is not so much to believe that Jesus cured the disease as to believe that He understood the real nature of it, since He forbore to correct the popular description. This objection appears to lose sight of the fact that, as Professor Max Müller assures us, there are no words in any language by which mental or spiritual phenomena of any kind can be described otherwise than in metaphor. Assuming then, for the sake of argument, that "possessed" is a mere metaphor, would any other term—such as lunatic, for example—have been better and nearer the fact? Or can it be seriously argued that the matter ought to have been explained to the Scribes and Pharisees in the language and with the apparatus and illustrations of modern science? Suppose, again, we grant the truth of the conclusion at which science appears to be aiming (though it can hardly be said to have reached it), that the abnormal condition of certain cells of the brain is the cause of the phenomena of possession: what then? Are we to take it that certain material atoms arranged in a certain form are the ultimate cause of mental and spiritual derangement? If so, it would follow that the devils in which Professor Huxley disbelieves are, in fact, as gross and material as any that mediæval fancy has depicted with horns and hoofs, and could conceivably be moved out of one being into another by an actual motion of translation through space. But if it were proved that there is something abnormal in the brain of the possessed person, should we not, instead of regarding this as final, have to inquire further how the structure came to be abnormal? And if so, what conclusion

consistent with any theory of evolution could we reach but this, that the brain in so far as it differs from the brain of other men, is such as it has been made by the man himself or his ancestors by their conduct, and therefore that the real source of the evil is not physical, but moral or spiritual? And this is just what the term possession appears to have been intended to express.

But Professor Huxley gives a practical turn to this part of his argument. He tells us that if Jesus had properly explained the nature of supposed demoniacal possession, we should have been spared the witch burnings of the Middle Ages. To say what would have been the course of history in the past, had it been different from what it actually was in the still more remote past, appears as difficult as to foretell what it will be in the future, and Professor Huxley expressly disclaims any gift of prophecy. Another view of the case seems equally deserving of consideration. There is no direct condemnation of slavery in the New Testament, yet it is generally admitted that the gradual abolition of slavery in Christian countries is a result of the teaching of the Gospel, notwithstanding the fact that arguments in favour of slavery have sometimes been drawn from the Bible. In like manner, Christianity may claim at least to share with science the credit of putting down the once universal belief in witchcraft. The Dark Continent is still dominated by this belief, and it is only when he becomes a Christian that the native African is able to throw off its terrors.¹

Throughout the above argument miracles have been spoken of as constituting or accompanying a revelation. This gives them an intelligible purpose. The object being to show that man is ever in the presence of and dependent on an Infinite and Eternal Spiritual Power, the direct action of that Power in the visible world seems for such a purpose probable rather than improbable. The case is altogether different with regard to other alleged miracles which are not connected with any fresh revelation. If we deny the Christian

¹ For a recent example see Mrs. Knight Bruce's interesting account of the Christian chief, Khamé, in *Longman's Magazine*, April, 1889.

miracles, we must rewrite the history of eighteen centuries ; but nothing material appears to depend upon those other miracles of the middle ages with which Professor Huxley would compare them.

In conclusion, the whole question, from the point of view here taken, may be summed up in a remark upon Professor Huxley's rejection of the testimony of the Apostle Paul. Saul, living at Jerusalem, must have known the external testimony to the miracle of the resurrection ; but before his conversion he did not accept it, and after his conversion he "conferred not with flesh and blood"—he declined, or needed not, to re-examine the evidence, and therefore his testimony to a matter of fact is declared to be of little value. But why should he have re-examined the evidence ? It was not the evidence that was altered, but his view of the probability of the fact to be proved. As long as his prepossession as a Jew caused him to regard the Messiahship of Jesus as improbable to the verge of impossibility, the external evidence appeared insufficient to prove it ; but when these prepossessions were removed, the same evidence appeared sufficient. There is nothing to excite surprise in this ; it is the ordinary course of the establishment of belief, which always depends on these two factors, our knowledge of the evidence, and our opinion as to the probability of the thing to be proved. When the prepossessions of men led them to think it highly improbable that the world had existed for more than a few thousand years, they rejected very strong geological evidence of its antiquity already accessible to them. The existence of sea-shells in rocks far above the sea-level was accounted for by the deluge, or the whole evidence of the rocks was set aside by the theory that the world, like man, was created full grown. But the same evidence is now considered sufficient to prove an antiquity which is no longer regarded as improbable. Professor Huxley appears to admit that the evidence of the Gospels would be sufficient to prove facts not improbable in themselves. It would suffice, therefore, for Paul when the grounds of his *a priori* incredulity were removed. It might suffice even for an Agnostic under like conditions.

ALFRED K. CHERRILL.

DEANE'S PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

THE author of this valuable and interesting work, the Rev. William J. Deane, rector of Ashen, in the county of Suffolk, is already favourably known by his numerous writings. He has written several of the volumes of the series, "Men of the Bible," the exegetical remarks on the Book of Proverbs in the *Pulpit Commentary*, and especially a learned and exhaustive commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon. Of late he has devoted much attention to the investigation of those curious Jewish apocalyptic works which were written about the commencement of the Christian era; and the result of his studies is now embodied in the volume which forms the subject of this present article. In the Preface he remarks: "The present work consists chiefly of a reproduction of certain articles (with additions and corrections) contributed by me to various religious periodicals during the last few years." These articles appeared chiefly in the *Monthly Interpreter* and in the *Theological Monthly*. At the time they attracted much attention, both on account of the novelty (at least in this country) of the subjects treated, and on account of the interesting information imparted on matters little known even to theological students; and Mr. Deane was urged to collect them in a volume, as articles in magazines are often overlooked, and are not easy of access. The book cannot be too highly praised as an important contribution to theology, and as supplying a want which has long been felt in English literature. It is written in a clear and graphic style, nor is there the slightest difficulty in ascertaining the meaning of the author. It exhibits much erudition and research, and is evidently a work which is the result of years of patient study. After a short and valuable introduction, Mr. Deane

proceeds to the consideration of certain works, mostly of pre-Christian Jewish origin, which have come down to us. He describes the contents of each book, assigns its probable date, examines the language in which it was composed, and states its value. We think it would have been an improvement had the table of contents been more fully drawn out, so that the points discussed in each particular section might have been stated. It would also have been an advantage had the authorities or literature on each particular book been given. This is only done in a footnote to the Book of Enoch.

The title, *Pseudepigrapha*, given to this book, must sound strange to English ears; and yet it is difficult to find one more appropriate. It is the title given to the learned works of Fabricius, Fritzsche, and Gfrörer, which treat of the same subject. Other designations are hardly appropriate. "Apocryphal books" would be too comprehensive and misleading, as naturally suggesting the Apocrypha of the Old Testament; "Apocalyptic books" would be too limited, as some of the books discussed, as, for example, the Psalter of Solomon, can hardly be called apocalyptic; "Jewish writings" would be indefinite, as several of the writings, as, for example, the Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs, are Christian, or at least interpolated by Christian writers. On the whole, *Pseudepigrapha*, that is, writings with the false names of authors attached to them, is the most appropriate. "Spuriousness of authorship," observes Mr. Deane, "belongs to most of the series, and is a mark of the writings which were produced in such luxuriance toward the time of the commencement of the Christian era; and a term denoting this peculiarity may well be adopted as their designation." It has the merit of being short and expressive. An alternative designation is given—"An account of certain apocryphal sacred writings of the Jews and early Christians," but this is too long to form a title to a book.

But although these pseudepigraphical writings are all spurious, with the false names of authors attached to them, yet they are by no means to be considered as literary forgeries. The practice of publishing works under the fictitious names

of illustrious saints was common both among Jewish and Christian writers before and after the commencement of the Christian era ; and it does not appear to have been regarded in the same moral point of view as perhaps it would be regarded in our day. There was no intention to deceive. The titles the "Wisdom of Solomon" and the "Book of Enoch," for example, were not intended to mislead, as if these books were written by the persons whose names they bear ; but these names were used to impart importance to them, or to signify that the books thus written bear some resemblance in sentiment to what might be supposed to have been written by such illustrious men. They were, in short, a species of fiction in these early times not unlike in kind to Gessner's once popular, but now forgotten, work, *The Death of Abel*. "These works," observes Mr. Deane, "must not be considered in the light of literary forgeries ; they are not like Macpherson with his Ossian, or Chatterton with his Rowley, fraudulent attempts at imposture ; but the authors, having something to say which they deemed worthy of the attention of contemporaries, put it forth under the ægis of a great name, not to deceive, but to conciliate favour." He mentions, as an example of a similar impersonation, the Book of Ecclesiastes, where Koheleth or the Preacher personates Solomon, thus agreeing with Dean Plumptre and other critics, who affirm that Ecclesiastes was not written by Solomon, but by an anonymous author who lived in the later times of Jewish history.

These pseudepigraphical works were written in times of national distress when the country was oppressed by enemies, when the Syrian monarchs or the Romans invaded Judæa, and brought it under their oppressive yoke, with the design to comfort the people under their calamities, and to hold forth to them a glorious future deliverance, when their enemies would be subdued, and they themselves triumphant and exalted. "They owe their origin," observes Schürer, "on the one hand, to a pessimistic view of the present, and on the other hand, to an intense faith in the glorious future of the people." Hence there is a considerable similarity in all these

books: there is an arch-enemy, the Beliar of the Jews, who oppresses the people; a great deliverer, the Messiah, who leads them on to victory; and a golden age of prosperity, which will succeed the age of oppression. Such literature was very abundant during the two centuries which preceded the Christian era. Books among the Jews appear to have been as numerous as among the Greeks and Romans during the same period. It is only an insignificant fragment which survives. They were circulated and read with avidity in Judæa, and attracted the attention of the early Christian Fathers, who, though ignorant of Hebrew, frequently quoted from them; and it is very possible that these works which the Fathers mention, and from whom chiefly we have our knowledge of them, are only a selection of those which were written. The reason why they were so abundant in the age preceding Christianity is that that age was a season of almost continual national oppression, when the Jews, during the great Maccabæan struggles, were oppressed by the Syrians, and afterwards ruled over by the Herodian family, who were regarded as an alien race, and finally conquered by and subjected to the Romans, until the destruction of their city and the overthrow of their nation by Titus. The Jews looked back upon their former deliverances recorded in their sacred books, and they fondly expected that Jehovah, the God of their fathers, whom they of all the nations of the world worshipped, would continue to rescue them from all their enemies; and these hopes were sustained by the Messianic expectations occasioned by the writings of the prophets.

This curious and in many respects valuable Jewish literature has not been much studied in our country. Few theologians have devoted that attention to it, and examined it with that care which its importance demands. And yet the first impulse to this study proceeded from an English divine. Richard Laurence, professor of Hebrew in Oxford, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, a scholar and theologian of no mean attainments, devoted his time to the investigation of these works. He published a translation of the Ascension of Isaiah and the Fourth Book of Esdras from the Ethiopic;

but his most important work was a translation of the Book of Enoch from an Ethiopic manuscript brought by Bruce from Abyssinia, published in 1821. He had, however, scarcely any followers in this department of study among English divines. There are, of course, numerous allusions to these works in various writings, but hardly any systematic treatment of them. The most important work is the *Jewish Messiah*, by Professor Drummond, a work of great merit, and which is frequently justly referred to as of high authority. But, until the publication of Mr. Deane's book, this work stood alone. Singular to say, in this year, 1891, in which Mr. Deane's work appeared, another work on the same subject was printed by the same publishers, T. & T. Clark, written by the Rev. John Thomson, with the title, *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles, being a Critical Review of Apocalyptic Jewish Literature*. This work, a very readable account of these pseudepigraphical books, is the result of much reading and careful research, and affords much useful information, but it proceeds on the untenable assumption that these writings proceeded from the sect of the Essenes; nor does it prove the assertion that they influenced our Lord and His Apostles. At least, if they did so, it was only in a small degree; though certainly they did influence the Jews in the time of our Lord. The arrangement also is defective, and necessitates repetition. At the same time, it is entitled to high praise as being a meritorious study of a somewhat neglected subject.

But whilst these pseudepigraphical books have been seldom discussed by English theologians, the contrary is the case in Germany. In that country they have been fully investigated, and have given rise to an abundant literature. They have been frequently translated, the different manuscripts containing them have been collated, critical notes have been made, the time of their composition has been carefully ascertained, and their interpretation has, with great plausibility, been suggested. The most learned divines in Germany have directed their attention to them, and expended on them an unwonted amount of time and research. A list of German books written on them would occupy a large space; we can only mention

the names of the most distinguished authors: Dillmann, Volkmar, Köstlin, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Fritzsche, Hausrath, Schürer, Philippi, Keim may be mentioned as the most prominent writers. The valuable work of Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, has been translated by those enterprising publishers, T. & T. Clark, who have done so much to promote the knowledge of German theology.

The pseudepigraphical works discussed by Mr. Deane are nearly the whole of this class of writings which has survived the ravages of time. They are the Psalter of Solomon, the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Sibylline Oracles. He purposely omits the Apocrypha. "The books comprised in our English Bibles under the name of 'Apocrypha' are excluded, as they have been sufficiently examined of late years, and commentaries upon them are readily available." Still, we think it a matter of regret that the Fourth Book of Esdras is excluded, as this is one of the most interesting and important of the Jewish apocalyptic books, and we would suggest that it should be included whenever the work reaches a second edition.

Most of these works, as Mr. Deane shows us, have had a singular, we may say, a marvellous history. They are frequently quoted by the Christian Fathers, especially by Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Lactantius, until the close of the fifth century; and then they are almost totally lost until the end of last century, or rather the present century, when they have been discovered in a most unexpected manner, and in countries where one would have least expected to find them. Thus, the Book of Enoch, lost for six centuries, was found by Bruce toward the close of last century in Abyssinia in the Ethiopic language; the Assumption of Moses, quoted up to the twelfth century, was found in 1861 by Ceriani in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan, in a palimpsest of the sixth century, in the Latin language; the Apocalypse of Baruch was found in 1866 by the same distinguished scholar in the same library at Milan, in the Syrian language;

the Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs was first brought to the knowledge of the Western world by the celebrated Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, in the Greek language; the Book of Jubilees, or Lesser Genesis, was found in 1859 by Dr. Krapff, an African missionary, in the Ethiopic language; and the Ascension of Isaiah was found in 1819 by Archbishop Laurence, in the Ethiopic language, on a bookseller's stall in Drury Lane, and other two Ethiopic manuscripts were brought from Abyssinia after the war. As Mr. Deane remarks: "The Abyssinian war in 1868, as it was magnificently named, if it conferred no glory on its promoters and executors, brought into our possession some literary treasures which have proved of great interest. Among the plunder thus obtained at Magdala were two Ethiopic manuscripts of the 'Ascension,' which are now deposited in the British Museum." It is remarkable that three of these works, the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and the Ascension of Isaiah, have been found in Abyssinia in the Ethiopic language. It would appear that the Abyssinian Christians had a partiality for this class of writings; in one of Bruce's manuscripts the Book of Enoch was inserted among the canonical books.

But these eight, or, including the Fourth Book of Esdras, nine books, constitute a mere fragment of the pseudepigraphical literature of the Jews. The number of lost pseudepigraphical books far exceeds those which remain. Fabricius, in his *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, estimates the number at 240; though many of these must be the same book under different names, and several of them Gnostic writings. In the Stichometry of Nicephoras, three books (Enoch, the Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Assumption of Moses) which have survived are mentioned along with others which have been lost. Several of these books are quoted with deference by the Christian Fathers, especially by Origen, who, of all the early Fathers, was the most skilled in the Hebrew language. A list of several of these books is given by Mr. Deane. The best known and the most referred to by the Fathers are "Joseph's Prayer," "The Prophecy of Eldad and Medad," "The Apocalypse of Elias," "The Revelation of

Adam," "The Apocalypse of Zephaniah," and "The History of Jannes and Jambres."

The value of these Jewish apocryphal books is chiefly twofold ; the insight which they give us into the religious opinions of the Jews at the advent of our Saviour, and the Messianic references which they contain.

With regard to the religious opinions of the Jews, we find a considerable advance in the views contained in the Old Testament. There is a development of doctrine. The doctrine of the angels is much more fully developed ; indeed, it forms an essential part of all these books. In the Book of Enoch there are three classes of angels—the cherubim, the seraphim, and the ophanim (the wheels of Ezekiel) ; the names of the four archangels are given, and special functions are assigned to each. "The first is Michael, the merciful and patient ; the second is Raphael, who presides over all sickness and wounds of the children of men ; the third is Gabriel, who is set over all the powers ; the fourth is Phanuel (Uriel ?), who presides over repentance and the hopes of those who will inherit eternal life." It is to be observed that these archangels are elsewhere mentioned. Michael, according to Daniel, is the national angel of the Israelites ; in the Epistle of Jude he is represented as contending with the devil for the body of Moses, and in the Apocalypse he is mentioned as the leader of the hosts of the Lord. Gabriel is mentioned in the prophecies of Daniel as explaining to that prophet the visions of the Lord, and in the Gospel of Luke as announcing to Mary that she was to be the mother of the Messiah. Raphael was the angel who accompanied Tobit. Uriel is the angel who communicated the visions to Esdras. In the Book of Jubilees the Angel of the Presence, the Angel of Praise, and the Angels that preside over the elements are mentioned. Numerous other names of angels are given ; so that the statement of the Rabbins that the Jews brought the names of the angels with them from Babylon is probably correct. The reality and nature of a future state is much more fully stated in these pseudepigraphical books than in the Old Testament. In the Old Testament the revelation concerning a future life

is obscure ; the intimations concerning the resurrection of the dead, and even concerning the immortality of the soul, are few and indefinite ; at least, they do not form a prominent feature in the Jewish religion. But in the time of our Lord there was a great advance in these doctrines. Not only a future state, but the resurrection of the dead, was a recognized point in the doctrine of the Pharisees. Now, these truths are distinctly stated in the apocalyptic writings of the Jews. The righteous were to be rewarded, and the wicked punished, in a future life ; and the bodies, at least of the righteous, were to be raised from the dead. We adduce two quotations given by Mr. Deane on this point. The first is from the Psalter of Solomon : "They that fear the Lord shall rise again to life everlasting. And their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and shall fail no more. But sinners shall be taken away for destruction, and their memorial shall no more be found. Their inheritance is Hades, and darkness, and destruction ; and they shall not be found on the day of the mercy of the righteous." The other is from the Sibylline Oracles : "God will change the bones and dust of men, and make them such as once they were. And then shall be the judgment ; and God Himself shall judge the world again ; and those who have done iniquity, them the earth shall cover with its heap, and the depths of darksome Tartarus, and the Stygian Gehenna. But the pious shall live again in the world, enjoying the incorruptible happiness of the immortal God, who shall give them spirit, life, and grace."

But more important still are the Messianic references contained in these works. According to Mr. Deane, several of these books have no reference to the Messiah, and among those he mentions the Assumption of Moses and the Book of Jubilees. In the other books the Advent of the Messiah is distinctly stated ; He is the great Deliverer, who shall rescue the Jews from all their enemies ; He is exalted above all the human race ; He is the Son of David, and shall sit upon His throne ; He is the Elect One, the Anointed of the Lord. Thus in the Psalter of Solomon it is said : "He, the Lord, shall raise up for them their King, the Son of David. There

is no injustice in His days in their midst, for they shall all be holy, and their King shall be Christ the Lord." "It shall come to pass," says Baruch, "when that which is to be shall have been accomplished, that Messiah shall begin to be revealed." But the most distinct Messianic references are to be found in the Book of Enoch. Indeed, this book, were it inspired, would be entitled to the name Messianic. The Messiah is there distinctly represented, not only under the image of a white bull, but often without symbol or type. He is the Son of Man, the great King of kings, exalted above all dominion and power. Kings fall down before Him: the mighty of the earth do homage to Him as their sovereign Lord; and all the nations of the world worship before Him, and are converted into His obedient subjects. And not only is He the Son of Man, but also the Son of God. He is associated with the Ancient of days, His name is from everlasting, He is constituted the Judge of the world, and is the object of worship to the whole human race. "Before the sun and the constellations were created, His name was invoked before the Lord of the spirits. All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before Him, and shall bless and glorify Him, and sing praises to Him in the name of the Lord of the spirits. Therefore was He elected and consecrated before Him ere the world was created, and unto eternity will He be before Him." It is to be remarked that there is no reference in these books to a suffering Messiah: the Messiah is always held forth as an exalted King; and this will perhaps account for the Messianic views which were then prevalent among the Jews in the time of our Lord: that the Messiah should suffer was a notion abhorrent to them. Mr. Deane also remarks that it is doubtful if any of these writers recognized the Divinity of the Messiah. "None of these works," he observes, "contains any clear assertion of the Divinity of the Messiah; and the writers, while they look upon Him as abnormal, and marvellous, and supreme, do not attribute to Him a nature different from that of man in the highest ideal character." This may perhaps be the case; but the words above quoted from the Book of Enoch, if they do not imply,

yet nearly approach to a conception of the pre-existence and Divinity of the Messiah.

The dates of these books, and the language in which they were originally written, are matters of considerable importance, as it is upon this that their value depends. Were they written before the Christian era? Was their original language Hebrew? To what extent are they pervaded with Christian elements? We cannot enter upon these inquiries, and can only give the results, referring the reader to Mr. Deane's work for further information. These pseudepigraphical works are, in general, history given in the form of prophecy along with surmises as to the future; and hence it follows that the last historical fact stated contains an indication of the time of their composition. The critical examination of the manuscript affords a clue to the original language in which they were written. The Psalter of Solomon is a Hebrew work written about B.C. 48. The Book of Enoch is a composite work, probably by three authors of very unequal merit, but all of it written before the Christian era, the original language being Hebrew. "It was," observes Mr. Deane, "written certainly before the Romans had obtained possession of Palestine, as throughout the whole work there is no mention whatever of them, and they never appear as the enemies of Israel. No knowledge of the New Testament is anywhere exhibited; the name of Jesus never appears; all that is of Christological import might fairly be gathered from the Old Testament." The Assumption of Moses, found only in Ethiopic and that in a fragmentary condition, is a Hebrew work written about A.D. 6. The Apocalypse of Baruch is a Hebrew work, and, as it contains a distinct reference to the murder of Pompey, composed about B.C. 59. The Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs, which some affirm to be a Jewish work with Christian interpolations, but which, as Mr. Deane shows, is the work of a Jewish Christian, was written in Greek about A.D. 70-130. The Book of Jubilees is a Hebrew work written about A.D. 70. The Ascension of Isaiah is composite, consisting of two parts, or perhaps rather two distinct works. The first part, containing an account of the martyrdom, is a

Jewish work ; and the second part, embracing the vision of the prophet, is a Christian work. Of the Sibylline Oracles, twelve books are extant, and are partly Jewish and partly Christian productions. They were written in Greek, and are of very different dates. The oldest is the third Sibylline book, a Jewish Apocalypse, and has been assigned by some to a date as early as B.C. 140, whilst others make it a century later.

By far the most valuable of these writings is the Book of Enoch, and to the consideration of it Mr. Deane devotes a space in proportion to its importance. It is the best known in this country. The translation of it by Archbishop Laurence has passed through three editions, and there is another English translation of it in America, by Schodde. As already stated, it is a composite book. There are in it many extravagances, but these are interpolations added to the original work. It is pervaded by a religious spirit ; its Messianic references are numerous, and of an exalted nature ; it is of a high moral character ; not only are there stern denunciations against all idolaters and persecutors of the righteous, but the wicked in Israel are threatened in the severest terms. The doctrine of retribution lies at the foundation of its teaching ; the future blessedness of the righteous is described in terms free in a great measure from those sensuous descriptions of heaven which are so common in other apocryphal books, and in the writings of the Fathers, whilst the wrath to come is described with the spirit and in the language of an Old Testament prophet. It can bear a favourable comparison with the books of the Apocrypha, and excels them in the clearness of its utterances concerning a future life, in the spiritual nature of its teaching, and in the number and distinctness of its Messianic references. "No apocryphal book," observes Bishop Westcott, "is more remarkable for eloquence and poetic vigour, and the range of subjects which it includes is as noble as its style. In its present form, the book aims at little else than a comprehensive vindication of the action of providence, both in the physical and in the moral world."

As the Book of Enoch is the most important, so the

Sibylline Oracles are the most curious of these pseudepigraphic books. Taken as a whole, they are a strange mixture of Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. Before they were examined they were regarded as one work of no value, being considered as mere incoherent utterances. Lardner declared them to be a Christian forgery of the second century ; but a closer examination, carried on chiefly by Bleek and Friedlieb, has led to a very different conclusion. They are now found to be of different ages, reaching from B.C. 140 to the middle of the third century. Some of them are entirely of Jewish origin, others partly Jewish and partly Christian, and others wholly Christian. The most important is the third book, written by an Egyptian Jew in the second century before Christ, at the commencement of the Maccabæan struggles. There is in it a distinct reference to the Messiah, who shall rescue the Jews from their troubles, and introduce the golden age.

It is important to inquire how far these books are recognized and quoted in the sacred Scriptures, observing that there is nothing opposed to the idea of inspiration in the opinion that the sacred writers quote from these apocryphal books any more than that Paul quoted from heathen writers. The prophecy of Enoch, recorded in the Epistle of Jude, appears to be a quotation from the Book of Enoch. Thus in Jude we read, according to the Revised Version, "And to these also Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of His holy ones, to execute judgment upon all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their works of ungodliness which they have ungodly wrought, and of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him." In the Book of Enoch, according to the translation of Laurence, the words are, "Behold He comes with ten thousands of His saints to execute judgment upon all, and to reprove all the carnal for everything which the sinful and ungodly have done and committed against Him." So also the statement, that the fallen angels are kept in everlasting bonds under darkness until the judgment of the great day, is contained in the Book of Enoch. Enoch was com-

missioned to pronounce the doom of the fallen angels ; and the archangels were sent from heaven to bind them with chains, and to cast them into darkness until the day of judgment. Origen informs us that the statement of Jude, concerning the contest of Michael the archangel with Satan about the body of Moses, is taken from an apocryphal book entitled the Assumption of Moses. This book has come down to us in an imperfect condition, and, unfortunately, we do not possess that part of the work which contains the account of the death and burial of Moses ; but from the nature of the work, there is no reasonable doubt concerning the accuracy of the statement of Origen. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, adverting to the trials of God's servants, it is stated that some of them were sawn asunder. There is no record of this in the Old Testament as the fate of any of God's people ; but in the Ascension of Isaiah there is a long account of the martyrdom of that prophet by being sawn asunder, and it is not improbable that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews derives his information from that book. Origen and Euthalius state that the quotation made by Paul, "As it is written, Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man, whatsoever things God prepared for them that love Him," and which is not to be found in the Old Testament, unless it be a free quotation from Isa. lxiv. 4, is contained in the Apocrypha of Elijah, a book which is now lost. This, however, is not so certain, as the Apostle introduces the quotation with the words "As it is written," a form which he never uses except quoting authoritatively from the Word of God. In all probability the reference to Jannes and Jambres, made by Paul in the second Epistle to Timothy, is taken from an apocryphal work mentioned by Origen, which bore the title "The History of Jannes and Jambres."

We would also allude to two other interesting citations from these books to which Mr. Deane directs our attention. The one is the extravagant assertion of Papias, preserved by Irenæus, and attributed by Papias to our Lord, and which was formerly adduced as an objection to our Lord's teaching :

"The days will come in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed will give four and twenty measures of wine." These words have now been found in the Apocalypse of Baruch, so that Papias mistook the words of Baruch for a traditionary saying of our Lord. In the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians there is the following curious statement: "And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary, and her childbearing, and likewise also the death of the Lord—three mysteries to be proclaimed—which were wrought in the silence of God." A statement of similar import is contained in the Ascension of Isaiah, from which Ignatius probably borrowed it.

The reader from the remarks made may see the great importance of Mr. Deane's work, and may have some idea of its nature and contents. It is the most complete book on this subject in the English language, and contains the most ample information on these pseudepigraphical writings. It is indispensable to every scholar who wishes to be acquainted with this class of literature, and should occupy a place in the library of every theologian. It supplies a desideratum long felt in religious literature, and brings to the knowledge of English readers what could only be obtained by the laborious perusal of numerous German books. The next step to be taken in this special department of theology is to give a translation of these pseudepigraphical books, with suitable introductions and notes, and this, we understand, is at present under consideration. Were this done, much light would be thrown on the state of the Jewish mind in the time of our Lord. We most heartily recommend this book of Mr. Deane, as a work of much scholarship; and, although it addresses itself to a limited class of readers, we trust that it will meet with that great success which it deserves. We congratulate Mr. Deane on this successful termination to his labours.

P. J. GLOAG, D.D.

MATTHIUS CLAUDIUS.

THIS worthy man is better known in England by his hymns, some few of which have been rendered into English by Miss Winkworth and others, than by his prose writings. The brief notice of him in Herzog's *Real Encyclopædia*, which has been translated into English, has introduced him to both American and British churches. His best-known hymn in England is :

“ We plough the fields, and scatter
The good seed o'er the land ;
But it is fed and watered
By God's almighty hand.
He sends the snow in winter,
The warmth to swell the grain,
The breezes and the sunshine,
And soft refreshing rain.
All good gifts around us
Are sent from heaven above,
Then thank the Lord, O thank the Lord
For all His love ! ”

The translation is by Miss Campbell.

The Claudius family can be traced back to the Reformation period. Their native place, in and about which they resided for generations, was on the Danish borders of Germany. Claudius Pauli was pastor at Emmerfield in 1586. Nearly all his descendants have been ministers of the Lutheran Church. The last of these was the father of Matthias, who was for many years minister at Reinfield, a small market-town near Lübeck. Here Matthius was born, 15th August, 1740, according to Dr. Hagenbach in Herzog, but according to the author of the *Notes to Lyra Germanica*, three years later. The former is, we believe, the correct date.

Little is known about his childhood and early life, but it may be believed that Reinfield was an agreeable home for him. Its deep woods and secluded valleys, its numerous

lakes bordered by lofty and far-stretching hills, were well adapted to inspire and nurture the imagination of the thoughtful boy who loved to roam and meditate amid their solitudes. He was so passionately fond of Reinfield that, when he had travelled and seen much of the world, he loved to steal down to his native place and ponder amid its calm scenes the deep things which engaged his thought.

Of the father we know very little; probably he was not greatly conspicuous in any way; but the son, in some verses he composed on his death, describes him as "a good man." The mother was of a very sweet and retiring disposition, and evidently a good woman, a dutiful wife, and a godly mother. Young Matthius loved to sit on her knee and join with her in singing the beautiful hymn by Paul Gerhardt, which was a great favourite of hers, "Commit thou all thy griefs," &c. We quote, as we hardly need say, the incomparable version made by John Wesley in 1739.

As soon as he was old enough, young Claudius went to school at Ploen, where he commenced learning Greek, Latin, mathematics, English, and Danish. When nineteen he went to Jena to study theology; a severe illness, however, attended with hæmorrhage of the lungs and other alarming symptoms, compelled him to relinquish theology for the law.

At that time in Jena, and indeed in many German universities, the prevailing tendency in theology was philosophical rather than evangelical, developing in after years, as is too well known, into a widespread rationalism. Claudius says little about his academical career, but he gives an amusing description of the kind of teaching then in vogue at Jena.

"I have been to the University, and have studied too," he says in that satirical style which he was a master of. "No, not *studied*; but I have been to the University, and know something about everything. I got acquainted with some students, who showed me round and took me everywhere, even into the Collegium. There sat the students, side by side on benches as at church, and against the window is a seat for the professor, who talks about this thing and the other thing, and calls it teaching. He who sat there when I attended

was a *Magister*, and wore a great frizzled peruke on his head, and the students told me that his erudition was much greater and more frizzled still, and that he was as capital a freethinker *secretly* as could be found in France or England. There might be something in him, for it flowed from his mouth as from a cider vat, and he could demonstrate with the swiftness of the wind."

While at Jena he joined the "German Society," among the members of which were men deeply imbued with rationalistic tendencies. From these sentiments, however, he was mercifully preserved; as also from the low morality and dissolute habits of many of the students. In 1760 he lost his only brother, who had been a fellow-student with him at Jena. Matthius pronounced a funeral oration over him at the grave—and this oration was published.

On leaving the University, Claudius returned to Reinfield, but shortly after, obtaining an appointment as secretary to a Count of Holstein, he went to reside in Copenhagen. Here he won the acquaintance and friendship of Klopstock, who was there completing his great poem, "The Messiah." Klopstock was not only a great and good man, but a true Christian, and his intercourse with Claudius proved a great blessing every way to the latter. Klopstock was called "The Morning Star of German Literature," and his influence and example, no doubt, stirred the latent literary powers of Claudius.

But Copenhagen was no fitting sphere for our young friend, and the drudgery of a private secretaryship was altogether lacking such an inspiration as his genius required. He soon returned to Reinfield, where he spent three years. They were the most momentous years of his life. Here the great change of conversion to God took place. Here he became a new man. Amid those hills and lakes and woods he thought and wept and prayed, and at length rejoiced in God's salvation.

He now applied himself to literature, and with a twofold purpose—to obtain a livelihood, and to announce to the world the great fact that man cannot live by bread alone. In 1768

he went to Hamburg as sub-editor of the *Intelligencer Office News*. Here he was brought into friendly contact with some of the leading spirits of German literature. Besides his old friend Klopstock, there were Lessing, Herder, and Goethe. The three last named were earnest in seeking the moral and political regeneration of the Fatherland. They had not however, found that true spiritual power, even faith in Christ crucified, which is the mainspring of all that is real and true and mighty. They were not opposed to the practical teachings of Christianity, though they did not look to Christ as the Divine Redeemer from sin and slavery and all evil. In a true experimental sense, they had not learned that Christ is "the Wisdom of God and the Power of God."

Lavater once said to Herder, "Why do you not write the life of Christ?"

"I write the life of Christ?" was his reply. "I? Never! The evangelists have done that as it ought to be done. Let us not *write* it, but *live* it."

In about two years Claudius ceased his official connection with the *Intelligencer*, and removed to Wandsbeck, near Altona. Here he commenced the *Wandsbecker Boten* or *Wandsbeck Messenger*. Here he spent the whole, or nearly so, of his remaining life, holding a responsible situation in a bank at Altona, in Danish territory.

One day in September, soon after his removal to Wandsbeck, he formed one of a hunting party. Returning to the house of a friend who accompanied him, some one inquired of him, "Have you shot anything to-day?"

"Yes," said he, "I have had a very good *hit* to-day."

The fact was that, though as a sportsman he had not been very successful, yet, in returning home with his hunting friend, an important conversation had taken place having reference to a certain Rebecca, a daughter of the same hunting friend. The result was that this Rebecca became the wife of Claudius. He had known her from childhood, and had been struck with her when she was a girl at school. He told his friend that when he discovered that Rebecca returned his love, he felt as if a great stone had been taken from his heart.

Mrs. Claudius was a woman of rare qualities, with strong sympathies, loving and affectionate to a degree, and as beautiful in face and form as she was devout in heart and pure in life. Their union was a very happy one, and the home of Claudius became in time a centre of strong family affections, and the sphere of some very select friendships. Jacobi, who lived near him, was a frequent visitor, and Frederic Perthes, the patriotic bookseller and philanthropist of Hamburg, became first a fast friend, and then the husband of his eldest daughter Caroline. Caroline was one of a galaxy of noble Christian women, whose spirit and life afford a powerful testimony to the truth and blessedness of the religion of Jesus Christ.

While at Wandsbeck, Claudius collected some of his scattered papers into a volume, which was followed in after years by several others, bearing the same title, *Asmus Omnia Sua secum portans*. They were republished in 1812, in eight vols. "They were," says Dr. Hagenbach, "the outgushings of a soul full of ardent piety in plain, popular language. They abound in humour, but through this outer covering the profoundest earnestness distinctly shows itself. They stood in direct opposition to the rationalistic illuminations of his day, without adopting the pedantry of an effete orthodoxy. His convictions rested upon a full faith in the Holy Scriptures. Some of his earlier friends were, of course, offended at his ironies against rationalism. They were, indeed, most biting. Upon the use of reason in matters of religion, he says in one place, 'Maybe there is more than one reason. That now current I can't understand. They call things reasonable which I call unreasonable. Thus I stand twixt door and hinge, and know not whether I shall choose an irrational reason or a rational unreason. . . . I can easily understand this, that people belong where they belong, but that they belong where they don't belong is past my comprehension.'" He compares philosophy to the "fool who can, indeed, sweep the dust out of the statue gallery, but can't make statues"; and he likens philosophy, in its tinkering with Revelation, to the man who wished to set the sun by his wooden clock.

In the successive volumes of this work there was a growing development of his faith in Christ as a Redeeming Saviour, and as the Source of all grace and holiness. His faithful teaching cost him, as we have said, the alienation of some of his early friends, but this was more than made up by his greater joy in the Lord and fellowship with Christ and His disciples.

His life was very much one of toil, and, to some extent, privation ; but this is what every one should expect who devotes himself to literature, especially if, like Claudius, he commit himself to the advocacy of unpopular truths, and who speaks out with uncompromising plainness, even though destitute of the harshness of bigotry, and flavoured with the kindness of love.

In the first volume of *Asmus* there is a correspondence between Claudius and a real or supposed cousin, respecting orthodoxy and improvement in religious matters, or what is now known as "Modern Thought," where he gives in pleasant and almost playful language a just estimate of the comparative claims of Philosophy and Revelation :—

"Philosophy is good, dear cousin," he says, "and those who so utterly scorn it are in the wrong ; but the relation of Revelation to Philosophy is not that of much to little, but as that of heaven and earth, of above and below. I cannot make it plainer to you than by reminding you of the chart which you once drew of your late father's garden. You used to like to course over that pond, and with your own hand you made a map of all its depths and shallows, regulating your steering accordingly, and all went on well. But had a whirlwind, or the Queen of Otaheite, or a waterspout lifted you up, together with your boat and chart, and deposited you upon the ocean, cousin, and you had wished here to order your course according to the pond chart, it would never have done. The fault is not in the chart—it availed for the pond, but the pond is not the ocean, you see. Here you would have to construct quite another chart—one, indeed, that must have remained pretty blank, seeing that the sand-banks lie *very* deep. And you may ever steer straight ahead here, cousin :

possibly you will run upon some ocean marvel, but you will not run aground."

We may take a peep into the fatherly heart of Claudius, and trace his faith in Divine Providence, in his letters to Andres:—

"Thou canst not credit," says he, "what a festival it is for me when they bring me a new child, and, the affair happily over, I have it in my arms. 'Here thou art, dear little one,' I say to it, 'here thou art! Welcome to us! Thy fate in this world stands written not in the glass, and I know not how things may go with thee; but I thank God that thou art here, and for the rest the Father in heaven may provide.'"

The life of Claudius was, as we have seen, very much one of struggle, but it was also a life of trust and peace—peace, not only in the bosom of his family and among his few endeared friends, but with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. He was strong in the old apostolic faith. "There is therefore now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus." "What he says of the Gospel of John," remarks Professor Tholuck, one of his warmest admirers and friends, "is true of himself, '*a few evening clouds, and behind them the full moon.*'"

"The avowed aim of Claudius," says his most recent biographer, "was *to teach the great theme of Christianity*. Like the Baptist in the wilderness, he preached repentance, and prepared the way of the Lord. When he first entered upon what he called his 'mission,' and declared openly for the old apostolic faith, the spirit of the age was decidedly antagonistic to Christianity, regarding it more as a museum curiosity—there for inspection, and for the learned to remark upon—than as a life-giving principle. It was an age in which German literature might, with truth, be termed a desert of dead and dry sand—the far-stretching fields of verdure presented by the works of a Tauler and a Luther, and others before and after them, were in the distant rear, and well-nigh forgotten; and now the oases were few. It was an age when an author might become popular only by pandering to the crowd, by the sacrifice of principle."

In his early days, when in his father's quiet parsonage at Reinfield, and when roaming among its beloved woods and waters and hills, Claudius had found the key of life—

“ The golden key
That opens the palace of eternity.”

As time passed on he made progress ; theory gave place to fact, opinion ripened into conviction, and conviction resulted in experience and living faith. When he resigned an office he held at Darmstadt, procured for him by Herder, some one said—

“ Whither will you go ? ”

“ To Wandsbeck,” was his reply.

“ What to do there ? ”

“ Translate, continue *Asmus*, and ‘ Commit thou all thy ways,’ ” alluding to Paul Gerhardt's well-known hymn.

Like Moses, he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. He had heard the voice of the world inviting him to share her dainties and reap her reward, but he had heard also another voice, saying, “ This is the way, walk ye in it.”

“ I hear those voices—hear them say to me,
‘ Come hither—thou wilt sure to us belong :
The ready minstrel in our ranks should be,
And twine as garlands round our cup his song.’
But my eternal being answered, ‘ No !
To no man's standard can I fealty swear,
Disturb the God within me let none dare !
My Star I follow, and alone I go.’ ”

This strong conviction of the truth, this faithful avowal of his homage to it, this determination to follow Christ and do all in His power to make known the Gospel of the grace of God, lay as the solid basis of all his efforts, all his endurance, all his confidence and joy. Addressing himself to all, but especially to the people—that class which in time past heard Christ gladly, and whose sympathies, generally speaking, are deeper, broader, and more readily enlisted on the side of right than those of any other class—he unfolded his *message*, in language clear and forcible, and yet gentle and affectionate.

With a freshness all his own, he told the "old, old story" of man's sin and degradation, of God's just anger, of man's misery and unrest, and then of a plan of salvation—a Redeemer, reconciliation, and a peace which passeth all understanding.

His writings are full of short pungent sentences, full of life and heart force ; and everywhere and always truth is his theme, and Christ his glory.

"He was indeed," says Kübler, in his *Historical Notes*, "a true Christian philosopher, and he faithfully bore testimony for Christ ; but he was as far from intolerance as from infidelity, and he combined an innocent cheerful love of nature with true godliness." Besides his prose writings, he was the author of a number of popular hymns and songs. The following is full of thought and useful suggestions :—

TO A FRIEND ON THE DEATH OF A FRIEND.

" The sower soweth the seed,
The earth receives it, and we wait awhile,
And then the flower appears.
Thou lovedst her : what else of profit
This life had for thee thou didst lightly value,
And from thee she passed away.
Why weepest thou beside her sepulchre ?
Why raisest thou thy hands up towards the clouds
Of death and of corruption ?
Men are like grass that groweth in the field,
And like the leaves pass hence !—few days, and we
In disguise shall wander on.
The eagle may visit earth's regions,
Yet dwells not, but shakes from its pinions the dust,
And then turns sunward again."

The Evening Hymn of Claudius is deservedly popular in Germany, and is in use even in circles nominally Roman in their faith. It was used commonly by the eccentric and devoted Michael Fenneberg when he had a number of boys under his teaching. He was one of a small band of Bavarian priests who were persecuted for their evangelical faith and earnest home missionary (as we should call them) proceedings. In his earlier life, Bishop Sailer was another of this band, and so was Martin Boos, whose epitome of the

Christian faith was, "*Christ for us; Christ in us.*" These and some others all died in the Romish communion, some of them leaving good hymns behind them; but the one who became the most distinguished and useful was John Gossner, who freed himself from Romish trammels, and subsequently organized one of the most successful of modern missions, still continued as the "Gossner Mission."

The Evening Hymn of Claudius does not reach the lofty sublimity and exquisite beauty of Paul Gerhardt's Evening Hymn—

"Now all the woods are sleeping;"

but then, Gerhardt is, after Luther at any rate,—and we are not quite sure that even Luther must be made an exception,—first among German hymn writers. There are two versions of the hymn of Claudius, both good, but perhaps Miss Winkworth's is the better of the two:—

"The moon hath risen on high,
And in the clear dark sky
The golden stars all brightly glow;
And black and hushed the woods,
While o'er the fields and floods
The white mists hover to and fro.

"How still the earth! how calm!
What dear and home-like charm
From gentle twilight doth she borrow!
Like to some quiet room
Where, wrapt in still soft gloom,
We sleep away the day-light's sorrow."

There is a wise and oft-needed suggestion in the next two verses:—

"Look up; the moon to-night
Shows us but half her light,
And yet we know her round and fair.
At other things how oft
We in our blindness scoffed,
Because we saw not what was there.

"We haughty sons of men
Have but a narrow ken,
We are but sinners poor and weak.
Yet airy dreams we build,
And deem us wise and skilled,
And come not nearer what we seek."

How needful then the prayer :—

“ Thy mercy let us see,
Nor find in vanity
Our joy ; nor trust in what departs ;
But true and simple grow,
And live to Thee below
With sunny, pure, and childlike hearts.”¹

Just for purposes of comparison we quote the closing verses of the other translation :—

“ And when at last shall come
The time to leave our home,
Thou wilt a peaceful end afford.
Then be there to us given
A home with Thee in heaven,
O Thou, our Father and our God !

“ Rest, then, each weary frame,
Rest, brothers, in God's name !
Chill is the evening breeze and cold.
From every ill, Lord, keep,
O send us quiet sleep,
Nor from the sick this boon withhold.”

Between the two versions we have given the whole of the hymn, which reflects so pleasantly the genial childlike spirit of calm confidence in God and love to man which marked the character of the man. We notice, too, the date of its composition, 1782, when the terrible storm of the first French Revolution was beginning to gather. In the wars of the first Napoleon, as everybody knows, Germany was a terrible sufferer, and Claudius had his share of trouble. The detail of this may be seen in the valuable life of Frederic Perthes, (two vols., published by Messrs. Constable & Co.), but cannot be given here. Suffice it to say that, in 1806, Hamburg was taken by the French, and remained a French city for about seven years. In 1813, by a tremendous effort, it threw off the French yoke, and became again free. This was followed by a most terrible bombardment, in which the city and outlying villages suffered severely. The fate of very many was the fate of Claudius. At the age of seventy-three he was compelled to fly, and hide where he could. Very few

¹ *Lyra Germanica*. First Series. London : Longmans & Co.

who read this will remember the winter of 1813-1814, but we have heard our fathers and grandfathers speak of it as the most severe of the present century. The good man, with his wife and the remaining portion of his family, had to put up with the miserable accommodation of one small room, and subsist on potatoes and gruel. But even amid such surroundings he did not cease to bear witness for his Master. He wrote "A Sermon by a Lay Brother for the New Year, 1814." This was his last publication. It dwells on the instability of earthly things, man's insecure tenure of them, and the necessity of laying up treasure where moth and rust do not corrupt—these, and likewise a testimony concerning the depravity of our nature, the evil of sin, the necessity of repentance, and faith in the precious atoning blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, form the subjects of his last message.

In the May of 1814 he went back to Wandsbeck, and afterwards visited his daughter and her husband, Mrs. and Mr. Perthes, in Hamburg. On 20th January, 1815, the end came. "Lead me not into temptation, but deliver me from evil," was his last audible prayer; and then, glancing round the room, he faintly whispered, "Good night! good night!" and he was at rest.

How like his sweet Evening Hymn and his own inner life was his peaceful end! But what a contrast it was to the political and religious life of Germany in those days; and what a beautiful testimony it was to the reality and power of the faith which sustained him through life!

The remains of Claudius repose in the churchyard at Wandsbeck. Twenty-five years after his death, 15th August, 1840, the centenary of his birth, a simple stone was erected to his memory in the Wandsbeck woods, where was his favourite walk. It bears the symbols of his vocation as the "Messenger"—the staff, the hat, and the wallet of the pilgrim—and the inscription:—

"Where once the Master lowly lay,
Let the tired servant rest to-day,
And in the Father's house above
For ever share his Master's love!"

R. SHINDLER.

THE EIGHTY-FOURTH PSALM.

THE Hebrew King and his retinue, after prolonged and involuntary absence, approach Jerusalem from the south. He is heartsore and dejected, weary and homesick, and pining for the rest and comfort of the sanctuary. He is surely old and dispirited ; for the imagery is of the plainest, and the prayer with the answer which it evokes are for himself. He anticipates and receives a joyous welcome in the Courts of Jehovah. The psalm is prepared for his reception, and the "sons of Korah" lead the "responses." To the monologue of the King they reply in stirring strains of hope and encouragement. The psalm ends with hearty acknowledgment of the blessing.

Yet there is no event known to us in David's history that exactly harmonises with the contents. The return to Jerusalem after the defeat and death of Absalom has been adduced by Delitzsch, Hengstenberg, and others as the occasion of its composition. But the route of that return was by Gilgal, and there is no reference either to his triumph or his crowning sorrow. Moreover, his return on that occasion had more of the complexion of a political procession than a religious pilgrimage.

It is undoubtedly, however, a psalm of the kings, of the times of the Tabernacle, of the days of pilgrimage, and the glory of Zion. The pilgrim bands had not seen the "Pools of Solomon" on their march ; had to journey cautiously "from stronghold to stronghold ;" and only began to breathe freely within the walls of Zion. It is certainly Davidic, both in spirit, style, and touch ; and to speak of it as "undoubtedly post-exilian" (Cheyne) is to forget alike the genius and piety of the golden age.

The Psalmist's *Monologue* :—

"How lovely are thy Tabernacles, Jehovah Sabâoth,
My soul longs, yea even pines, for the Courts of Jehovah,
My heart and my flesh ring-out-their-joy for the living God.
Even the bird has found a house,
And the swallow a nest for herself where she may put her
brood.

[O for] Thine altars, Jehovah Sabâoth, my King and my
God!

Blessed are they who reside in thy house :
They will be continually praising Thee."

Little can be inferred from יִרְדוֹת : "lovely" or "lovable," because the Tabernacle was as beautiful in its spiritual associations to David as the resplendent Temple in its outward aspect was to Solomon.

"Longs and pines" are stronger in the text than in our translations. The exile had become pale and emaciated.

רִנָּן : "ring-out-their-joy" (Cheyne) ; implying that the pilgrim, in thought at least, is crossing the threshold.

צִפּוֹר : "bird." A younger poet would have amplified. The coney in the rock would have expressed better security. The birds *make* their resting-places as David had built the Tabernacle ; yet he had sometimes been banished from it. "The birds of the air have the nests" which they build ; but the Son of Man, in the world He had created, had nowhere to lay his head. There has been much learned discussion over these birds ; *dûri*, probably akin to דִּרְיִר, being the name for "sparrow" in Syria and Palestine at the present time.

It is to be regretted that the R.V. has Romanised "*even* thine altars." So Perowne, Ewald ("at"), and others. Prof. Cheyne has ["So have I found a house] by thine altars." No doubt birds still frequent the Haram, and *may* have found nests in the Temple ; but the Tabernacle was of different construction. Besides, at the time of "the early rain," the autumn, the nesting season would be over. "A probable conjecture," says quaint old Burgess, "is that those learned writers knew as much about swallows as these happy birds knew about them" (vol. ii. 115).

כֹּהֵן refers to the priests and Levites, who, like Eli and Samuel, dwelt in or near the sanctuary. They were, like the birds in their nests, envied of the Psalmist. This also points to Davidic times. After the erection of the Temple on Mount Moriah the priests and Levites had to take up their residences in the city. The father of the Baptist lived in the Hill Country, and some officials went down to Jericho (Luke x. 30-33).

The monologue breathes in every word the spirit of child-like dependence upon God so peculiar to David. It reminds us of the finely-strung "gittith" of Samuel Rutherford—the outflow of a heart in closest touch with Jehovah. There is not even one false note in the lowly heart-music. As the fluttering bird nestles in and finds rest under the parent wing, so David in "my King and my God." "Those Hebrews, what poets they were! Holy, homely, and daring, they delighted in the wings of the Almighty" (*Dr. George MacDonald*).

"David's poetry did David's kingdom no good," says Carlyle somewhere in his *Friedrich*. No? It was this that brought him into notice at the court of Saul; that kindled and kept alive the enthusiasm of the tribes for Jehovah's worship; that maintained his popularity with Israel, and established his claim to be Messianic King. It was David's child-like clinging to Jehovah Sabâoth that made him the Lion-King of Judah and got him the victory over all his enemies. This was the secret of his iron strength and courage; and this has made him a מְנַצֵּחַ of praise in all ages of the Church.

David's ambition was to be successor to Melchizedek, the Priest-King in Zion. Temple-building was his passion. The Mosaic ideal of the gathering of the tribes to Jehovah at Jerusalem stirred as no victory did his holy enthusiasm. He was ready to give a thousand days of his kingdom for one day as a worshipper. Perhaps we owe to David more than we have acknowledged our love of sacred architecture; and what is our indebtedness for the "Songs of Zion"?

"The music here strikes in anticipating his praise" (Delitzsch).

CHORUS OF WELCOME by "Sons of Korah":—

*"Blessed is the man whose strength is in Thee.
The highways [to Zion] are in their hearts
Who pass through the Valley of Weeping.
They make it a place-of-fountains.
The early rain also covers it with blessings.
They go from stronghold unto stronghold.
He appears before God in Zion."*

עמקהבנא: "Valley of Weeping," "The balsam-vale" (Cheyne). The "Valley of the Rephaim," as well as the "Vale of Hinnom," lay between Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Here David fought the Philistines, coming upon them from the "Grove of Weeping" (Josephus), and following the Divine signal "on the tops of the mulberry-trees": ברשיהבנאים —"balsam-trees." The valley probably acquired the name "Weeping" from the dropping gum, or, as some think, from its gloomy and forbidding aspect (Comp. Ps. xxiii. 4).

This Valley afterwards became the reservoir of Jerusalem. It is the site of the famous "Pools of Solomon," filled to this day. Possibly, in David's day, the magnificent works were beginning which Solomon completed: "They are making it a place-of-springs." By a slight change of vowel, ברכות, we get "pools"; but this does not so well agree with יעמה: "covers," not "fills." See King's interesting chapter on "The Water Supply of Jerusalem" (*Recent Discoveries on the Temple Hill*).

"From stronghold unto stronghold": מחיל. This speaks of troublous times. David took 30,000 men with him to Kirjath-jearim to fetch the Ark. The danger lay *between* the strongholds. Temptation still falls on us between one season of grace and another; between sacrament and sacrament; in our week-day struggle with the world. Perhaps from "company to company" (Ps. cx. 3).

Ὁφθήσεται ὁ Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐν Σιών. So LXX. render

ver. 7. "The God of Gods is to be seen of them in Zion." The sudden change from the plural to the singular was evidently felt by them to be a difficulty. "*Every one of them appears*" (R.V., Perowne, and others) is not satisfactory. "Blessed are the *men*, . . . *they appear*" (Cheyne) gives the sense, but is quite arbitrary as a translation. "He appears," *i.e.*, "the teacher" (Hengstenberg); so H. translates מורה.

They come to Mount Zion with songs, and are met with answering music at the gates. It is pleasant to think of those pilgrim bands, from north, south, east, and west, closing in upon Jerusalem at the festivals, company meeting company on the way, hill and dale made vocal with their music, the hymn-circles blending at the gates, and swelling into joyful diapasons of praise as they ascend the Hill. Only for a hundred years or so in Israel's long history, under David and Solomon, could such stirring scenes be witnessed.

The companies became larger and stronger the nearer they approached God in Zion; they became smaller and weaker as they retired. They were one in the "Strength of Israel." So Churches, like radii, get closer to each other as they draw nearer their Common Centre, and get divided in their distance from Him. In Christ only they reach the "unity of the faith." So, too, the heavenly Jerusalem will be entered at last, where all pilgrim music will be merged in the anthem of eternity—"the song of Moses and the Lamb."

But the Vale of Weeping has first to be crossed. נִיאֲצִלְמוֹת —"the valley of death-shadow" lies between us and Mount Zion. Happily it is narrow, and lies close to the gates. Happily, too, since David's time, it has been transformed. The "well of salvation" will be found in its depths. "The early rain" that fell on Gethsemane and Calvary has covered it with blessings. The Ark, within which are Aaron's rod that budded, and the golden pot with manna, the resurrection and staff of life, has passed through it, and David's Lord is there to comfort us. We may enter it, therefore, as David did, and "fear no evil." A little way beyond is the city, and Elohim is seen in Zion.

PSALMIST'S MONOLOGUE :—

“Jehovah God of Sabâoth, hear my prayer.
Give ear, O God of Jacob !”

The prayer itself is not given, for every pilgrim had his own. It was doubtless a cry, more or less articulate, for light, protection, and comfort. He appeals to the “God of Jacob” because He had befriended the father of the Tribes in his exile, answered his prayer at the Jabbok, and might therefore be looked to to bless his children on pilgrimage.

It is interesting to notice, in those far-off ages, how fully the conditions of prevailing prayer are realised. All prayers are not answered ; the scientific sceptic demonstrates the futility of, and insists on the absurdity of, expecting answers to prayer ; yet the impulse is apparently irrepressible, and the experience of the Church in all ages confirms the conviction that true prayer is heard and answered. Answered prayer is one of the accepted phenomena of the spiritual world.

A war frigate goes down under storm in the bay with all hands. Prayer rises from all on deck for mercy and deliverance. If God does not hear and answer such prayer, urges the Secularist orator, where shall we look for Divine intervention ? But here the conditions of true prayer are absent. Let us suppose (1) that the cry for mercy is heard. That does not affect the argument. (2) Are warships built and sent out on the theory of Divine protection ? (3) Is human temerity that risked the winter storm to be condoned when what was risked occurs ? (4) Were God's laws consulted, or his approval sought in any form on the voyage ? Shipwreck was one of the possibilities deliberately braved by the heroic men who embarked. And need we say that if the prayer had been answered it would either have been rejected as proof, or employed as an argument for war. Yet God's spiritual children, undeterred by such examples, and divinely sent forth on their voyages of mercy, calmly commit their souls in well-being into the hands of their Creator, and count on his protection and blessing. Paul and his fellow-voyagers “all escaped safe to land.”

" More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day."—*Tennyson*.

CHORUS :—

" *Behold, O God, our Shield :*
Look upon the face of Thine Anointed."

The majority of authorities is certainly in favour of " God, our Shield "; and ver. 11 may be regarded as confirming their opinion. Ewald, however, seems to be right in referring the word to David. (1) This is not part of the Psalmist's prayer, but the prayer of the people, led by the " Precentor " (Gesenius), *for* David. (2) The parallelism requires something to correspond to " Thine Anointed." (3) The position of מַלְכֵנוּ in the distich. (4) The word is applied in Scripture to the King and Princes of Israel.

" For to Jehovah belongs *our Shield* ;

And to the Holy One of Israel our King " (Ps. lxxxix. 19).

" To God belong the *Shields* (Princes) of the earth " (Ps. xlvii. 10).

See also Hos. iv. 18. When the people brought back David to Jerusalem after Absalom's death they said, " The King saved us out of the hand of our enemy, and he delivered us out of the hand of the Philistines " (2 Sam. xix. 19). It would, therefore, be (5) specially appropriate on the lips of the " Sons of Korah " in their song of welcome.

" Hear *my* prayer," " our Shield," and " thine Anointed," surely point to Davidic or kingly authorship. The High Priest (Cheyne) prayed for others, and could hardly be associated with pilgrimage. He was envied rather by the pilgrim for his residence at the sanctuary.

How distasteful the thought of Davidic authorship is becoming to certain critics, and what a lofty opinion they hold of post-exilian psalmody. A thousand years hence and Shakespeare's works will be found to bear the impress of the Victorian age, and may possibly be attributed to Henry Irving. Yet the present age is apparently as incapable of producing such a poet as the post-exilian era of writing David's psalms. It is by wrongly crediting it with pre-exilian

literature, and such psalms as this, that it escapes being designated the *tinsel* rather than the silver age.

MONOLOGUE :—

“ Because a day in Thy Courts is better than a thousand
[elsewhere],
I would rather [take my turn] as a doorkeeper in the House
of my God
Than make-the-round-of the tents of wickedness.”

כִּי refers rather to what follows, as also in ver. 11., than to what precedes. “ *Because* thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle . . . (Gen. iii. 14). “ *Because* He hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him ” (Ps. xci. 14).

הִסְתוּמָה, which LXX. render by παραρρηπτεῖσθαι—“to take one’s chance”—may signify to stand on the threshold, or do the duty of the doorkeepers ; but taken in connection with מְדוּר—“to turn round” (as a dog in his kennel)—it suggests the idea of a circle. The Korahites were singers and doorkeepers (Smith’s Dict.). David would rather take his day at the gate of God’s house than *frequent* the tents of wickedness. דוּר is unusual : שָׁב and שָׁנָה are both employed in the psalm.

As Delitzsch points out, “Tents” are here contrasted with “Courts,” lending weight to the evidence that the “Tent of Meeting” was still standing when the psalm was written.

Any place, even the humblest, in the Church and family-service of God, is to be preferred to the world lying in wickedness. One holy day is worth a thousand holidays. David’s heart is apparently full of holy envy. He casts longing eyes upon the nests of the birds, on the chambers of the priesthood, even upon the privileges of the doorkeepers.

“ Here would I find a settled place,
While others go and come :
No more a stranger or a guest ;
But like a child at home.”

CHORUS :—

“ *Because Jehovah God is a Sun and Shield,
He gives grace and glory ;
Jehovah withholds no good thing
From them that walk perfectly.*”

We must remember that those were the days of the Sun-god, as well as of the Shechinah and the Temple-Vail. The mystic Light of the Inner Court was the "Sun" that does not go down ; the Vail that sheltered the worshipper from the brightness of the unapproachable Light was the "Shield" of Israel. The Vail, as we now know, was a type of our Lord's humanity ; the glory that shimmered through it, as on Hermon at his Transfiguration, was the revelation of his Deity. God is only to be apprehended by us in the Person of Jesus Christ. No man hath seen Him at any time. Only in the face of Christ, through the vail of his humanity, can we behold the light of his glory. Thus in Christ God is both a "Sun and Shield."

The Divine order, or sequence, is Grace and Glory. "First grace, then glory ; no grace, no glory ; if grace, then glory" (Candlish).

In no other sense could Jehovah have been worshipped, or even spoken of, in those times as a "Sun and Shield." Sun-worship was then the sin and curse of the idolatrous Canaanites. Israel was forbidden to worship on the "high-places" of Baal, the Sun-god. When it was left to the "kine" to carry the Ark on the "new cart" whither they would from the house of Abinadab, they took the road to *Beth-Shemesh* (House of the Sun) ; when the Levites took it up from the house of Obed-edom, they carried it to Mount Zion. The natural man worships the creature ; the spiritual man is only satisfied with the Creator. David's heart and flesh cried out for "the Living God." "Give me a God that never sets," cries Abram in the old legend. "The sun shall be no more thy light by day," is God's promise to the spiritual Israel, "neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee : but Jehovah shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory" (Isa. lx. 19).

Epilogue :—

"JEHOVAH SABÂOTH, BLESSED IS THE MAN THAT PUTS HIS TRUST IN THEE."

R. BALGARNIE, D.D.

ORDINATION IN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

ORDINATION is "the solemn rite or act by which a candidate for any office in the Church of Christ is authoritatively designated to that office, by the persons who are invested with power for the purpose." In the primitive Churches there were two orders of office-bearers, those of the one order being distinguished by the names "bishops" or "overseers," "presbyters" or "elders," and "pastors" or "shepherds"; and those of the other being denominated "deacons" or "servants"; and in the Presbyterian Churches these are the only ordained functionaries. The deacons in the primitive Church were set apart to the office of managing the ecclesiastical funds, especially of ministering to the wants of the poor. In many of the Presbyterian Churches the work of this order of officers is entrusted, in part, to the elders, and, in part, to a committee of Church members, who are commonly called "managers." To the elders it belongs to provide religious instruction for those who are under their charge; and in each congregation there is at least one elder whose peculiar province it is to teach in the public assembly, and to dispense the sacraments, or, in general, to conduct the services of the sanctuary. The teaching elder is also appointed to rule; and in this department of his office, others, who have been chosen and ordained to it, are associated with him, he and they constituting a Court called the "Session," of which he is the "moderator" or president. To him the name "pastor" has somehow come to be appropriated, while the name "elders" is distinctively applied to those who only rule. The latter, however, besides being the pastor's or minister's colleagues in the government, are appointed to be his assistants in all private pastoral duties, each of them having a portion of the congregation, residing in a defined district, committed to his special care.

The ordination of a minister is the deed of an ecclesiastical court called the "Presbytery," which consists of the ministers

of the several congregations within certain bounds, together with a representative elder from each of their sessions. When a student has passed satisfactorily through the prescribed curriculum at a university and a theological hall, he is "licensed" by a presbytery—that is, authorized to preach the Gospel, and exercise his gifts as a probationer for the ministry; and when a probationer has received a "call"—that is, when he has been chosen and invited by a congregation to become its pastor—he is set apart to the office by the presbytery under whose inspection that congregation is placed. This is done by "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," an act which is accompanied with solemn prayer. "It is no part of the belief of the Presbyterians," says the late Dr. Miller, of Princeton, in his work on the Office of the Ruling Elder, "that ordination imparts any direct influence, physical or moral, to him who receives it. They do not suppose that any hallowed energy proceeds from the hands of the ordainers to him on whose head they lay them." But, as in all other cases mentioned in the Scriptures in which the imposition of hands was practised, this act denoted the communication of some blessing or gift; so in ordination, it signifies the conferring, by those who are invested with sacred office, of authority to perform the functions of the ministry; and, while fitly expressive of devotement to the service of God, it is to be regarded as a pledge of Divine countenance and aid to the person ordained in the faithful discharge of the duties of his office.

At the first, in the Reformed Scottish Church, persons were set apart to the pastoral office by prayer, without the imposition of hands; but in the *Second Book of Discipline*, which was sanctioned by the General Assembly in 1578, this form was appointed to be used;¹ and in the Westminster Order concerning Church Government, it is prescribed that

¹ But, in the answers to the "Questions proposed by the King, to be resolvit at the Conventionn of the Estaits and Generall Assemblie, appointed to be at the Bronche of Perth, the last of Feb., 1596," Quest. 6 being this, "Is he a lawfull Pastor who wants *impositionem manuum*?" the following is the answer to it:—"Imposition, or laying on of hands, is nocht essentiall and necessar, but ceremoniall and indifferent, in the admissiounn of a Pastor."—*Mr. James Melville's Diary*, p. 392.

"every minister of the Word is to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting." In the procedure of the Presbyterian Churches the imposition of hands takes place towards the conclusion of the prayer. About sixty years ago a minister of the United Secession Church, who afterwards held the office of Professor of Pastoral Theology, "introduced into the Synod an overture on ordination, which proposed to revive the form practised in several of the Reformed Churches, in which the act of ordination is detached from the prayer, and follows it, and is thus more distinctly marked as the deed of a Court conferring all the powers connected with office."¹ The Synod, having considered the overture, agreed to make no enactment, but to leave it to the Presbyteries to adopt or not, as they should judge proper, the form thus proposed. It was practised in some instances; but though to all who, on any occasion, witnessed its observance, it must have commended itself by its obvious superior degree of solemnity and external decorousness, and its tendency to impress the obligations of office on the person ordained, yet the former mode of procedure continued to be generally followed.

In his account of the designation of Barnabas and Saul in the Church at Antioch to special missionary work, the sacred historian says, "When" their brethren "had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away"; and in a subsequent part of the narrative it is stated that these Apostles, in their visitation of the Churches which they had planted, "ordained elders in every Church, and prayed with fasting" (Acts xiii. 3; xiv. 23). What was done in these instances being probably regarded as presenting an example to be imitated in all cases, the institute of the Westminster Assembly enjoins that the ordination of every minister shall be performed "with fasting"; and in the early Secession Church the day of a minister's ordination was always appointed to be a day of congregational fasting and humiliation. But this requirement long ago ceased to be observed.

¹ *Memoir of Alexander Duncan, D.D.*

In almost all the English and Scottish Presbyterian Churches the rite of imposition of hands is used only in the ordination of ministers, elders being set apart to their office simply by prayer. This is an unwarrantable departure from the appointed mode ;¹ and it tends to create or to foster the idea of a wide distinction, in respect of official rank, between the two classes of spiritual superintendents ; while in the Scriptures the members of both alike are denominated "bishops," "presbyters," "pastors," and are thus represented as constituting, in the character of rulers, of which these names are properly expressive, but one order. Dr. Miller supposes the omission of the rite in the ordination of ruling elders, when the office was established in the Reformed Churches, to have arisen from their mistake "in considering that office as a temporary one, or rather allowing those who bore it, if they saw fit, to decline sustaining it for more than a single year. They could not reconcile it with their feelings to set apart to their office these temporary incumbents with the same rites and solemnity which they employed in ordaining ministers of the Word and sacraments, whose tenure of office was for life." But, he states, the foreign Protestants who established themselves in London during the reign of Edward the Sixth "not only had ruling elders and deacons in all their churches, but also uniformly ordained them by the imposition of hands." The overture formerly referred to as having been introduced into the Synod of the United Secession Church, besides proposing the separation of the laying on of hands from the prayer in the ordination of ministers, sought that a sanction should be given to the use of this rite in the ordination of elders ; and the deed of the Synod granted permission to Sessions to adopt this mode of procedure, if they should prefer it. By all who have done so it has been deemed beneficial, from its tendency to produce a stronger impression of the sacredness and importance of the office to which elders

¹ In the account of the choice and ordination of the first deacons, it is said respecting them, "Whom they set before the Apostles ; and *whom they had prayed*, they laid their hands upon them." Here it is plainly indicated that the prayer preceded the imposition of hands.

are set apart, and thus to increase the influence which the possession of it ought to give.

Dr. Miller lays it down as a dictate of common sense that, "on the supposition that the imposition of hands ought always to be employed in the ordination of ruling elders, the members of Session already in office should lay on hands with the pastor in setting apart an additional member to the same office, and the right hand of fellowship be given by each member of Session to each of his newly-ordained brethren"; and he adds, "How much more impressive and acceptable would be such a scene than the cold and naked manner in which that service is too often performed?"

The author of the previously mentioned overture having been asked whether he wished that ruling elders should take part in the ordination of ministers, replied that, though this question had no necessary connection with the overture, yet he would state that he regarded the association of elders with ministers in the act of ordaining to the work of the ministry as a change that might be argued for on this ground, among others, that the power of government, to the exercise of which elders are set apart, "includes everything pertaining to Church order, and those who possess it are thereby invested with the right of authorizing to preach as well as simply to rule. This has been acknowledged by all Presbyterian Churches; and therefore there is, in fact, an inconsistency in their procedure when elders are excluded from a place in the ordination of ministers. The very same Court takes the vote of these elders for licensing students simply to preach the Gospel when no power of government is conferred; and in all cases they vote for the ordination of ministers, and also, according to the measure of their knowledge, in approval of the several preliminary steps, the very trial of gifts being submitted to them as well as to the teaching elders. Now, the vote to ordain seems to be the essential deed of the Court, which is only followed up in the act of ordination. Is there no inconsistency in excluding a member who passed the vote, it may be, from participation in the act? And does not the Court present, in this state, a strangely mutilated appearance?"

A venerable minister and learned divine, Dr. John Jamieson (author of *The Scottish Dictionary*), who thought the sentiments expressed by the author of the overture revolutionary, said to him that he presumed he would be proposing next that elders should be declared eligible to the Moderatorship in the Synod. He replied that, in his opinion, there was no good reason why they should not be placed in this respect on an equality with the teaching elders, and that there were some of them in reference to whom the apostolic injunction, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour," might, with great propriety, be observed by their being chosen to occupy the chair.

In 1567, George Buchanan was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, "a very high honour," it has been said, "for a layman." Buchanan, however, like Andrew Melville, sat in the Assembly as an ordained "doctor" or teacher, and had read theological lectures with great applause in the University of St. Andrews. John Erskine, the laird of Dun, who is reported to have sat in the Assembly fifty times, was thrice called to preside as Moderator; but this excellent man, whom the first Assembly declared "apt and able to minister," had been made Superintendent of Angus and Mearns in the year 1565, and superintendents were admitted in the same way as other ministers. Dr. Henry Calderwood, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, was chosen to be Moderator of the United Presbyterian Synod of 1880; and though he was formerly minister of Greyfriars, Glasgow, yet at the time of his election he was a member of Synod simply as the representative elder from the Session of Morningside congregation. In 1881, Dr. John Collingwood Bruce, of Newcastle, who about sixty years ago was a licentiate of the Secession Church, but withdrew his name from the probationers' list, and devoted himself to academic tuition, presided over the English Presbyterian Synod. This appears to be the first instance in which the honour of Moderatorship has been conferred on an elder not ordained to the work of the ministry.

ANDREW DUNCAN.

THE BIBLE AND SCIENCE.

PART II.

MATTER AND ITS MODES.

THERE are few words more frequently uttered in the present day by naturalists of all schools than "matter" and "materialism." Some are never weary of affirming its omnipotence, asserting that it is sufficient of itself to account for all existing phenomena. Others are as earnest in denying this claim, and in showing its impotence to account for any change in nature. Who are right—those who teach that all modes are modes of matter, or those who teach that there are also modes of spirit? The query is an important one, and one that demands careful and impartial investigation. All that can be attempted here is to indicate a few modes of matter by which it is related to Biblical statements, or to theological discussions.

The spiritualist—and by spiritualist is meant one who affirms the existence of soul or spirit—has this initial advantage over the materialist, that he starts with knowledge; while the latter starts with belief alone. We know self as existing; we are conscious of something, and consciousness is knowledge. We are conscious of changes in our thoughts, feelings, and sensations. We are also conscious of being compelled to think according to definite laws; for example, we could not think two *plus* two to be equal to five; or the part to be greater than the whole. We are also compelled to *believe* that such changes as those in our sensations have been caused by something external to ourselves, and that something is called matter. It therefore becomes evident that the very existence of matter is only a belief, which may, and does most probably, express a fact; still, belief, however strong, is not so certain as knowledge.

WHAT IS MATTER?

As, however, the existence of matter is believed in by nearly all in the present day, we may at once pass to the attempts that have been made to answer the above question.

Some are inclined to think that it is a mode of an earlier substance of which spirit is another mode. They imagine that, however contrasted may be the phenomena of soul and matter at the opposite angle of the base of the triangle, by continued analysis we should find ourselves on converging lines meeting at last in the mother substance: the unity from which both have proceeded. This is monism; but a monism to which it would be inaccurate to apply either the term materialism or spiritualism. It postulates nothing regarding the nature of the one original substance. It emphasizes the fact that all attempts to define matter have been miserable failures, attaining their climax in Boscovitch, who denies that it is a substance at all, and who regards it as only a manifestation of force! This monism has much in its favour; for however widely the manifestations of soul and body differ, there is one quality they possess in common, and that is extension. If the soul come and go it must occupy a portion of space, as the body does. Whether it has weight or not, we cannot possibly tell. Monism also greatly simplifies the difficulties surrounding the origination of matter. We are very distinctly told the origin of the human soul (Gen. ii. 7). The word is *vay-yip-pach*. This makes it in some way an effluence from God. Nothing anywhere is said about the origin of matter, unless it be the passage in Hebrews xi. 3. No argument, however, can be based on this text, because of the ambiguity arising out of the usage of the words, *τοὺς αἰῶνας*, which ought to be rendered "ages" rather than "worlds."

This is a theory which may be reverently entertained by the sincerest Christian, as it makes God all in all; and yet it is removed from the follies of pantheism by the whole diameter of being. The Rev. Joseph Cook puts it well in the following words, "It is not my opinion that everything was made from nothing. I suppose Almighty God evolves the seen universe of matter and the unseen universe of finite force from Himself. My creed is the reverse of pantheism." If, in the laboratories of earth charcoal may be converted into something so different as a diamond; or dull clay be crystallized into the flashing emerald, who shall limit the possibilities of one mysterious

primordial substance? Let it, however, be clearly remembered that this monistic theory does not in the slightest degree minimize the differences between the phenomena of mind and those of matter.

ATOMS.

Dalton, who was practically the father of the atomic theory, has told us that in the chemical analysis of matter we come to small solid particles which cannot be chemically resolved into anything simpler than themselves, or be even chemically divided. He apparently did not maintain that they could not be physically divided. Modern chemists seem to teach that they cannot be divided by any means, that they are inherently indivisible. We must not forget that this is only a theory, and that possibly no such things as *primitive* atoms exist; but the word is a most useful one, as it would not be easy to see how chemistry could express its work in any other terminology.¹ Still, till their existence is physically demonstrated, they cannot take any part in theological controversy. But even according to those who firmly believe in their existence, the division is carried so far that they cease to be thinkable as particles of matter, and thus become valueless in discussion, leaving materialists standing unsteadily on nothing.

Space will permit of only one witness being called, and he shall be Mr. W. Crookes, whose authority will be gladly acknowledged by all. After showing some magnificent and bewildering experiments on "radiant matter," he said, "according to the best authorities, a bulb of the size of the one before you (about four inches in diameter) contains more than a quadrillion molecules. Now, when it is exhausted to a millioneth of an atmosphere, we shall still have a trillion molecules left in the bulb.

"To suggest some idea of this vast number, I take the exhausted bulb, and perforate it by a spark from the induction coil. The spark produces a hole of microscopical fineness, yet sufficient to allow molecules to penetrate and to destroy the vacuum. Let us suppose the molecules to be of such

¹ See *Theological Monthly*, vol. iv., p. 420.

size that at *every second of time a hundred millions could enter*. How long, think you, would it take for this small vessel to get full of air? An hour? A day? A year? A century? Nay, almost an eternity! A time so enormous that imagination itself cannot grasp the reality. Supposing this exhausted glass bulb had been pierced at the birth of the solar system; supposing it to have borne witness to all the stupendous changes involved during the full cycles of geologic time, to have seen the first living creature appear, and the last man disappear; supposing it to survive until the fulfilment of the mathematician's prediction that the sun, the source of energy, four million centuries from its formation will ultimately become a burnt-out cinder; supposing all this—at the rate of filling I have just described 100 million molecules a second—this little bulb even then would scarcely have admitted its full quadrillion of molecules.

“But what will you say if I tell you that all these molecules, this quadrillion of molecules, will enter through the microscopic hole before you leave this room? The hole being unaltered in size, the number of molecules undiminished: this apparent paradox can only be explained by again supposing the size of the molecules to be diminished, almost infinitely, so that instead of entering at the rate of 100 millions every second, they troop in at a rate of something like 300 trillions a second. I have done the sum, but figures when they mount so high cease to have any meaning, and such calculations are as futile as trying to count the drops in the ocean.

“We have seen that in some of its properties radiant matter is as material as this table, whilst in other properties it almost assumes the character of radiant energy. We have actually touched the border-land where matter and force seem to merge into one another, the shadowy realm between known and unknown, which for me has always had peculiar temptations. I venture to think that the greatest scientific problems of the future will find their solution in this border-land, and even beyond; here, it seems to me, lie ultimate realities, subtle, far-reaching, wonderful.”

But even now we have not arrived at the size of the atoms, for these air molecules are compound things made up of atoms which are smaller still. Not only are there molecules of air, but also of water, carbonic anhydride, ammonia, etc.; so that if the number of molecules be a trillion, we may assume that there are at least four trillions of atoms! If the molecules land us by the side of the infinitely small, where will the atoms place us?¹ Do we not appear to be on the border-land where matter seems to pass into something that can scarcely be called by that name? Be that as it may, is it not more strange that these infinitely little things should without any intelligence directing them, any force compelling them, or any object to be attained by them, clash themselves into the present material universe! It is strange, but there is something stranger still, that sane men should be asked to believe it. What a magnificent illustration of those who strain at smallest gnats and swallow biggest camels!

ELEMENTS.

Chemists have taught that all kinds of matter may be reduced into simple substances, which cannot be decomposed into anything simpler, and which they call "elements." These are supposed to occupy the same position in chemistry that vowel sounds do in language. We would not imagine that they could have any relation to theology, but the ingenuity of some men is very great. They have been brought forward as evidence that Christ's miracle of turning water into wine could not possibly have taken place. Mr. S. Laing writes, in *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, "There remains the class of really supernatural miracles, or miracles which could by no possibility have occurred as they are described, unless some outward agency had suspended or reversed the laws of nature." "If the water was really changed into wine, some-

¹ This might be extended if we adopted the theory of Kopp, who believed that the atoms of some elements are built up of simpler parts, having a grained structure, but having arrived at the centre of infinity it seems useless to go farther. Those who wish to study these most interesting chemical researches ought to study the works of Dumas, Gerhart, Laurent, Clerk Maxwell, and Professor Muir.

thing must have been created out of nothing to supply the elements which were not in the original water, and were not put into it from without." How easy it is to say what "must be" and "must not be," and how frequently it is all a mistake. Mr. Crookes has taken the elements in hand, and described the result in his paper, "The Genesis of the Elements." In it he remarks, "If I venture to say that our commonly received elements are *not* simple and primordial, that they have *not* arisen by chance, or have *not* been created in a desultory and mechanical manner, but have been evolved from simpler matters—or perhaps indeed from one sole kind of matter—I do but give formal utterance to an idea which has been, so to speak, for some time 'in the air' of science. Chemists, physicists, philosophers of the highest merit, declare explicitly their belief that the seventy (or thereabouts) elements of our text-books are not the pillars of Hercules which we must never hope to pass."

Didymium, for example, was regarded as an element ; but Dr. Aner von Welsbach decomposed it into two simpler bodies, which he named neodymium and praseodymium ; but later researches have shown that even these are not simple bodies. Mr. Crookes' words are very significant : "Where, then, is the actual ultimate element ? As we advance, it recedes like the tantalizing mirage lakes and groves seen by the tired and thirsty traveller in the desert. The very idea of an element, as something absolutely primary and ultimate, seems to be growing less and less distinct." He believes that there is one common substance from which all present modes of matter have proceeded, and which he proposes to call *protyle*. Once more we recede from matter as we usually think it, and once more our recession silences the sceptic ; for what now becomes of Mr. Laing's "must have" ? Prof. Huxley shall answer him : "You are quite mistaken in supposing that anybody who is acquainted with the possibilities of physical science will undertake categorically to deny that water may be turned into wine. Many very competent judges are already inclined to think that the bodies, which we have hitherto called elementary, are

really composite arrangements of the particles of a uniform primitive matter. . . . Theoretically, therefore, we can have no sort of objection to your miracle."

How strange it is that some timid Christians should dread the discoveries of science, seeing that they all either directly, or indirectly, help to confirm their faith.

AFFINITY AND COHESION.

On these modes of matter depend the stability of the inorganic world. If atoms could not cohere into a mass, then there would be only an indefinitely attenuated gas. If atoms had no affinities for atoms of another kind, then all combinations would be the result of cohesion only. Again, if the affinities of every element were the same for every other element, combinations once formed could never be changed. This being so, organic life would be impossible; for although organic power disregards chemical affinities, organisms have to live in a world where chemical combinations are most powerful. As, however, matter is now constituted, we find that certain elements have affinities for other elements; so that oxygen, for example, will combine with hydrogen to form water. Further, these affinities have not all the same strength; drop a piece of sodium on the water so formed, and immediately the oxygen will leave the hydrogen to combine with the sodium. The exhaustive memoir on affinity by Guldberg and Waage explains very fully the order of this mass-action. But they give not any explanation of these physical facts, as indeed, on a chemical basis, they could not; for the explanation is found in their purpose, and purpose is a product of mind, not of matter. The explanation must be sought in the Creative Mind, where the end was present in the beginning, and the beginning lived to the end. The teleological and only interpretation of these wondrous modes of matter is found in the words, "Known unto God are all His works from the beginning of the world."

MIND NOT MATTER.

The great struggle, however, of the materialist is to prove

that man in all his states and moods is only modes of matter. His contention being, that every sensation, every volition, every emotion, is nothing more than a cerebral condition. As evidence of this, he points to the fact that at present we only know mind when accompanied by brain. That is true, but it is not of much importance, for our knowledge cannot be made the measure of existence. A few years ago we only knew the human voice in connection with a human throat ; but now we know it miles away from the speaker ; we know it speaking after the speaker is dead. The physicist is the last man in the world who ought to say that we now know all that is, and shall never know more than we know at present. It is also urged that thought and brain are most closely connected with each other. This is at once freely and gladly conceded, for it shows what an admirable unity man is, and it explains the desire of St. Paul that he should not be unclothed, but clothed upon ; having an aversion to his soul being found naked.

Our friends may anatomize and physiologize as they will, they cannot get beyond the dissection, and observed functions, of organs, nerves, and muscles. They may soak their brains—I mean the brains of their friends—in chromic acid, they may make slices in all directions, may take their microphotographs, and examine them at leisure ; they will succeed in revealing to us a wondrous beauty of structure that ought to speak of a wisdom infinite in its wiseness ; but they will not come across thought anywhere. They may remove part of the skin of one of the lower animals, such as a rabbit, after having given it chloroform, and thus be able to act directly on the living brain by electrical stimulation, and so they can ascertain the relation between the part thus influenced and muscular motion, or even sensation. When, however, they proceed to talk about thought *being* a cerebral state, they go beyond the boundaries of science. They speak of motions along the fibres of the white matter of the brain into the enveloping grey matter, and tell us there are right-handed ascending spiral movements, and left-handed descending spiral movements ; and that the former *are* probably the

emotions of love, while the latter *are* probably the emotions of hate. Elaborate diagrams are drawn showing the course of the vibrations from and to the sensorium, it being gravely asserted that these trills constituted our thoughts. It will scarcely be believed that all this is pure imagination, and that no living being ever saw a "trill" or a vibration. Of course, there is not any reason why a physiologist should not rest his intellect by indulging his fancies ; but he must not call these fancies science, or pass them off as facts.

"That mental antecedents call forth physical consequents is just as certain as that physical antecedents can call forth mental consequents, and thus the correlation between mind-force and nerve-force is shown to be complete both ways, each being able to excite the other." This is undoubted, but it does not go one step towards showing that mind is a mode of matter. Professor Draper, whom no one will accuse of too much orthodoxy, rightly states in his work on physiology, "We have established the existence of the intellectual principle as external to the body." The great physiologist, Professor Griesinger adds this testimony, "How a material physical phenomenon, taking place in the nervous fibres or ganglion cells, can become an idea, an act of consciousness, is absolutely incomprehensible."¹ While Professor Tyndall says as truly, "The continuity between molecular processes and the phenomena of consciousness is the rock upon which materialism must inevitably split whenever it pretends to be a complete philosophy of the human mind." It is difficult to imagine why men will persist in going out of their course to split on a rock, when if they had only let reason steer them straight ahead they would have remained in deep waters, till at last they would have found themselves safe in the haven of Divine truth.

TWO-FACED ATOMS.

Of all the attempts made by the materialist to wriggle out of a bog, that by Professor A. Bain is certainly the most original. He fully recognizes the great differences

¹ *Traité des Maladies Mentales.*

between mind and body, stating that "mental and bodily states are utterly contrasted ; and our mental experience, our feelings and thoughts, have no extension." "Mental states and bodily states cannot be compared." This is satisfactory ; but something very different follows when trying to explain how such contrasted states can cohere in one substance. His question is, "How are mind and body united ?" The answer is, "The only adequate expression is a CHANGE OF STATE—a change from the state of the extended cognition to a state of unextended cognition." This wondrous substance is to change from extension to unextension, but to remain always conscious ! When it is exhibiting the phenomena called material, it is extended ; when exhibiting the phenomena called mental, it is affirmed to be unextended. This may be a very profound supposition, but as it is wholly incomprehensible, it would be presumption to attempt a serious criticism of it. Yet this strange conception is preferred to the Biblical account of man's origination ! How much more in accordance with the principles of both science and philosophy are the words of the writer of Ecclesiastes, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit to the God who gave it."

SOUL RE-CLOTHING ITSELF.

The resurrection of the dead is a fundamental article of the Christian faith, is a clear revelation in Scripture, and is an important fact in biological science. What is the resurrection ? It is the soul taking to itself, at some future time, a new body ; re-clothing itself with matter as it is now clothed. In this there is not anything strange ; it is exactly what the soul is doing every day we live. The cells of the body are constantly decaying, decaying as certainly as though the body were in the grave. But the builder of the body dwells within, and is ever on the alert, so that when one cell falls in, the matter which is always at hand is used to mend it. So rapid is this process of decay, that we change every particle of matter in our bodies every six or seven years. The soul of a man who is sixty years of age has had ten or

eleven complete resurrections in the course of his life. This language is not figurative, but literal. It is the soul that does the work, for when the soul leaves the body, and the individual is, erroneously, said to be dead, the process becomes one of decay alone; there is no repair. The body a man has in youth is "his" body; the body he has in manhood is "his" body; that which he has in age is also "his" body; but no two of them are the same body. The body he uses at death will be "his" body, and the body he will clothe upon himself at the resurrection will be also "his" body, though no atom of matter found in the latter may have been in the former. The difference between the present and the future resurrection is only one of degree and not of kind; the present resurrection is gradual, the future will be rapid. Scientific difficulties are not therefore sufficient reason for doubting a future resurrection. There are no such difficulties, and no biologist can produce legitimate objections to the remarkably precise and philosophical statement of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. and 2 Cor. v. regarding the future modes of matter in their relation to the human soul.

When we study the modes of soul and of matter as they are in the immediate present, they seem parted widely asunder. But as we follow their beckoning fingers, they approach each other nearer and nearer, till we seem to lose both soul and matter, and find something that is neither. Retracing now our steps by this new light, and in it re-examining what we had studied earlier, all becomes strangely transfigured into a higher order; the mystery, great as it was before, becomes greater still, and we learn our ignorance and our impotence as we find ourselves more intensely than ever before in the presence-chamber of Him who hides Himself in the light that blinds, till our eye, becoming accustomed to the radiance, dispenses with the darkened glass, and we learn to know even as we are known.

"Read Nature; Nature is a friend to truth;
Nature is Christian; preaches to mankind;
And bids dead matter aid us in our creed."

JAS. MCCANN, D.D.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

On Messianic
Prophecy.

DR. EDWARD RIEHM'S work (1) on this important subject has been translated from the German by Lewis A. Muirhead, B.D., and published in a second edition, with an introduction by Prof. A. B. Davidson, D.D., of the New College, Edinburgh, who begins by saying that the translator and publishers have done a lasting service to the students of the Old Testament by bringing out this new edition, as no work of the same compass could be named that contains so much that is instructive on the nature of prophecy in general, and particularly on the branch of it specially treated in the book. Prof. Davidson inclines to the opinion that "the author has spent too much time in coming to terms with Hengstenberg and König on the nature of the prophetic inspiration. But the conclusion which he reaches is an important one, namely, that there is no evidence that the oracles of the canonical prophets were received in vision, or in any condition to be strictly called ecstasy. Riehm holds strongly that the progress of Revelation was organic, and in all cases, as he terms it, 'psychologically mediated'; in other words, that essential step towards any revelation which might be called new, or an advance on that already in existence, was the operation of the prophet's mind on truth already known, and the influence upon him of the circumstances around him." It is, therefore, not without reason that Prof. Davidson says: "Some readers may not agree with Riehm in all the positions which he holds"; although we are quite ready to admit that "there is no one who will refuse to acknowledge the thoughtfulness, the fairness and candour, and the reverential spirit of the writer." Riehm greatly insists upon another postulate, namely, that in interpreting any particular prophecy, the right question to put in the first instance is, What did the prophet mean? and What did he desire those to whom he spoke to understand? Such a question

as What did the Spirit mean? or What did God mean? is not to be put in the first instance, although Riehm recognizes the propriety of the latter question in certain circumstances. The first part of Riehm's treatise is on the Origin of Messianic Prophecy, in which the question of ecstasy is considered at length, with the result above mentioned. Riehm's conclusion on the point of origin is that Messianic prophecy in the wider sense grew out of the idea of the covenant on which Jehovah entered with Israel, and in the narrower sense out of the idea, which was not Mosaic, but yet pre-prophetic, of the Theocratic Kingship. The second part is occupied with the consideration of the Historical Character of Messianic Prophecy; its adaptation to the times; the fact and the reasons of its manifold form. In this respect the author admits that he has nothing substantially new to add to what has been elaborated by Bertheau. It is claimed that a *limit* must always be recognized to the vision of the future granted to the prophets by the Spirit of God, in the fact that they always believed the day of Jehovah and the salvation of the perfect time to be much nearer than they actually were. Yet this limitation of the prophetic prospect did not imply any *lack* of Divine revelation to the prophets; it was no *flaw* cleaving to Messianic prophecy and disfiguring it. On the whole, we must conclude that Riehm has evolved a theory of prophecy of which he has sought proof among the prophetic records; it is one amongst many of the instances there are where a learned man makes up his mind first and seeks support for it afterwards. The third part of the work is a consideration of the Relation of Messianic Prophecy to New Testament Fulfilment. Riehm tries to prove that there is no such agreement and congruity between these as has been maintained by Auberlen and others. He says that the πολυμέρως of Heb. i. 1 is very marked even in its Messianic prophecy. He tries to show that "Old Testament prophecy knows *nothing* of a *prophetic* function of the Messiah; that it does not represent Him, as in a proper sense, a *high priest*; that the prophecy of the old covenant does not know of a *Messias who suffers and dies*, and *nowhere* ascribes to the Messiah an official function of *mediating the forgiveness of sins* or effecting an *ethico-religious renewal of hearts*, and that, in general, it does not represent perfected personal *fellowship with God in love* as *mediated* by Him. On the other hand, however, it announces distinctly and definitely not only that God will devise new and sufficient ordinances for expiating His people's sin, and will effect

the renewal of hearts by His Spirit, but also that a *mighty redemptive act of God the Saviour*, an act, exhibiting in the most glorious way the superabundant grace of God for Israel, and the whole world will yield at once salvation and consummation." Riehm does not appear quite consistent. However, this work bears testimony to the glory and grandeur of Christ Himself, and shows that however fragmentary the Old Testament prophecies may be, all the threads of them lead up to Christ, in whom the promises of God—which are prophecies, of course—are "yea and amen." We cannot express ourselves satisfied with Riehm's treatise, learned though it is; but we are glad to have read it nevertheless, for it is very suggestive.

Dr. F. Delitzsch's *Messianic Prophecies* (2) is a very different sort of work from the foregoing; and, indeed, the two ought to be read in the order here set down, for although one cannot help being struck with the learning and research displayed in Riehm's treatise, it leaves a sort of vacancy behind it. Delitzsch's little work is the product of a heart full of faith as well as of a mind teeming with learning. It is the product of the great professor's old age; he himself calls it "a late sheaf from old and new grain"; as a legacy he leaves it to the Institutum Judaicum for the compendium of a *concordia fidei*; to our missionaries for a *vade mecum*. Contrary to the opinion of Schleiermacher, Prof. Delitzsch felt the subject to be a delightful theme. The Lord is in the process of coming in the Old Testament, and to watch Him drawing near must always have an enduring charm for those who "love His appearing." Prof. Delitzsch takes the Messianic prophecies in historical succession, before the time of the prophets, and then through the various epochs to the concluding prophecies in Malachi. He speaks of Deutero-Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah, and accepts much of the results of the Higher Criticism; but this does not in any way detract from the homage due to Christ. The knowledge of the Scriptures displayed in these lectures is, as may be expected, deep and intimate; and the method of connecting one part with another is worthy of the highest praise and the greatest attention. The Professor only too truly asserts that there is a crisis in the domain of the Bible, and especially in that of the Old Testament. "This crisis repels one on account of the joy of its advocates in destruction, on account of their boundless negations and their unspiritual profanity; but also this crisis, as so many crises since the time of the Apostles,

will become a lever for progressive knowledge, and it is therefore incumbent upon us to recognize the elements of truth which are in the chaos, and to gather them out; for as the primitive creation began with chaos, so in the realm of knowledge, and especially of spiritual life from epoch to epoch, that which is new goes forth from the chaos of the old." It is comforting to know that "in the evening of his life" this great theologian could say, "We are persuaded that gospels and epistles harmonize most intimately; we are certain that in all essential points they admit of a reciprocal control"; and the purpose of this work is to show that prophecy and the apostolic word reciprocally correspond and promote each other, so that the Old Testament word of prophecy in relation to the New Testament dawn is only "like a lamp shining in a dark place."

Dean Goode's *Lectures on Fulfilled Prophecy* (3) were delivered at Lincoln's Inn, under the Warburton Foundation, nearly thirty years ago, but have been for some time out of print. They were accounted valuable and weighty and convincing at the time, and it is therefore a praiseworthy idea of Dr. Bullinger to reproduce them at this juncture, when prophecy and its fulfilment, especially Messianic prophecy, is taking up so much of the attention of scholars and theologians. As Dr. Bullinger truly says, "few subjects are more important and interesting to the Bible student than that of Fulfilled Prophecy, especially when treated, not merely in a historical or cold scientific manner, but with deep spiritual teaching." Dean Goode wrote the Preface to his Lectures in 1863, but his weighty words may be applied with even greater force to-day, and therefore we may hope that the Lectures will find a wide circle of readers in the present generation. They may be called old-fashioned, but still they are vigorous, logical, and withal moderate. The volume is enriched with an Appendix of notes, giving references and citations from a variety of authors.

(1) *Messianic Prophecy*. By Dr. Edward Riehm. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

(2) *Messianic Prophecies*. By Franz Delitzsch. Translated by Samuel Ives Curtiss. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891. Price 5s.

(3) *Fulfilled Prophecy*. By the Very Rev. W. Goode, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Ripon. Second Edition, edited by the Rev. E. W. Bullinger, D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1891.

Miscellaneous. *Among the Holy Places* (1) is the account of a "Pilgrimage through Palestine," undertaken by the Rev. James Kean. In reading it we are rather brought to the conclusion that it is chiefly a recital of the author's sensations under the difficulties and trials of travel in Palestine and Syria, to which is added descriptions of the various places reached in the course of his journeyings. In order, as he says, "to place the reader in the position of the traveller, and to let him see the country and people with his own eyes," Mr. Kean addresses him as "you." We do not quite see the advantage of this. On the whole, the book, though interesting, has a sort of attempted flavour of Mark Twain about it; and what may be taken, in that author, for humour, in Mr. Kean's hands becomes something approaching to flippancy. We cannot say that Mr. Kean's account of the sacred spots is always calculated to inspire us with veneration for them, yet, surely, one ought to look upon these scenes with reverence, even though there may be also a certain sense of disappointment. Mr. Kean's description of his attempts to bathe in the River Jordan are painfully comical, and the same may be said of other matters. Mr. Kean defends the traditional site of Calvary, and claims that he has probably "located" the scene of the Transfiguration. The work is well got up, and is illustrated with a series of views which appear to be reproductions of photographs.

All the world will welcome a biography of Franz Delitzsch (2), whose name stands so deservedly high among the ranks of theologians. Meantime, while that biography is preparing, Mr. Samuel Ives Curtiss, who was his pupil, and who is now Professor in the Theological Seminary at Chicago, has presented the public with a memorial tribute, which is appreciative and interesting. It consists of five chapters, each of which has a series of notes, and an appendix containing a list of F. Delitzsch's works, and other matters. We need hardly say that this little book shows us that the great Professor was a true Christian, of charming manner and wide sympathies, and one whose name will be held in lasting honour for his labours, whose effects are world-wide. The book is illustrated with a photograph.

Dr. Cudworth was a philosophical writer of great authority. Clarke, Butler, and even Kant are supposed to owe a good deal to him. But he is not well known nowadays, and therefore Mr. Scott is endeavouring with praiseworthy persistence to direct the

minds of students towards the study of his works. With this view he has written a short and useful introduction (3) containing a sketch of Cudworth's life, some of his letters, a summary of the argument of the Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality. We can commend Mr. Scott's deeds and intentions, and wish him all the success he desires.

The Rev. Andrew Duncan is the author of a little book entitled *The Scottish Sanctuary as it Was and as it Is*, (4) showing what changes have recently been introduced into the public worship of the Presbyterian Churches. It is an instructive and entertaining work, written with candour and moderation. It is somewhat strange to think that a people so conservative in their religious practices should be so radical in their political notions. Mr. Duncan shows how averse to alteration the Scottish Presbyterians have been, and yet, notwithstanding, the progress of modern ideas has been too strong to prevent innovation. Mr. Duncan speaks kindly of these new notions and customs, yet withal he seems to regret the passing away of primitive practices. To those acquainted with the Presbyterians of Scotland this book will be interesting; to those outside that communion it will be, in many respects, quite a revelation. An analogous work on the English Church would be both useful and popular.

Agnosticism Found Wanting (5) is the superscription of a little work in which the author sets forth his endeavours to refute the arguments and answer the objections of the lecturers of the National Secular Society. "It is written as an endeavour to undermine the prevalent disbelief in the Bible and in God as therein revealed." It appears to be the record of lectures or debates undertaken by the author, who is evidently a man of vigorous intellect, well able to express his views in nervous and telling language. The work is one which will be very useful to distribute in places where doubt and disbelief exist; and it will be a good thing for anybody to read it whose mind is at all affected by the scepticism that is so rife among the young men of the present day. We cannot say (indeed we could not reasonably expect it) that Mr. Morden has furnished a full and complete answer in every case; but his book is eminently sensible, and not spoiled by too much hard language. He adopts the theory of a pre-Adamite race of men; and quotes, apparently with approbation, M. Naudin's notion derived from

embryology, that Adam was at first non-sexual, then he entered upon a chrysalis state, "a deep sleep fell upon him," and from thence came Eve. But reasoning from analogy, one would say then, Where was Adam? Mr. Morden's testimony as to Christ and prayer and providence is much better than this; though his parallel between microbes and a personal devil is somewhat amusing. On the whole we commend this book, and wish it all the success that is possible.

The Soul of Man (6) is a work detailing an "investigation of the facts of physiological and experimental psychology." It is a hard book, upon one of the most difficult of all subjects. The author begins by quoting Professor Clifford's opinion that the "question is one in which it is peculiarly difficult to make out precisely what another man means, and even what one means oneself;" and ends by saying that "we have no objection to representing the moral law of the universe to which we have to conform, as a person. We may compare it to a father, and with Christ call it "Our Father," just as we like to speak of Mother Nature. But we wish to have it understood that this expression is a simile only—a simile which, if carried out, will lead to serious misconceptions." The work is no doubt a learned one, there is much reference in it to Haeckel, &c., and there is a great array of diagrams and discussions about nerves and ganglions, and so forth. But we are as far as ever from learning what the soul really is. The chapters of the work are very short. The author says it would be a calamity if anything approaching a nation could be hypnotized, and we agree with that, but we do not agree with all the author's evolutionary notions, because it appears to us that many of them are imaginary, and not proved in such a way as a scientific person ought to do it.

(1) *Among the Holy Places.* By Rev. James Kean, M.A., B.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891.

(2) *Frans Delitsch.* A Memorial Tribute. By Samuel Ives Curtiss. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891. Price 3s.

(3) *An Introduction to Cudworth's Treatise.* By W. R. Scott. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891. Price 3s.

(4) *The Scottish Sanctuary as it Was and as it Is.* By the Rev. Andrew Duncan. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot.

(5) *Agnosticism Found Wanting.* By J. W. Morden. London: Elliot Stock.

(6) *The Soul of Man.* By Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1891.

The Theological Monthly

THE RESTRAINING INFLUENCE.

2 THESS. ii. 6-8.

Textus receptus.—Καὶ νῦν τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε, εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ. τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας, μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται, καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἀνομος.

Authorized Version.—And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work : only he who now letteth *will let*, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed.

Revised Version.—And now ye know that which restraineth, to the end that he may be revealed in his own season. For the mystery of lawlessness doth already work : only *there is* one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall be revealed the lawless one.

THERE is little variation in the readings of this passage in the different manuscripts. The exegesis, however, is difficult, and requires attention.

Ver. 6.—*And now* (καὶ νῦν). The force of the particle νῦν has given rise to a variety of opinions. The usual view among critics is to take it in a logical signification, as a particle of transition : “And now, these things being so, let us consider what restraineth.” To this, however, it is objected that there is no transition to a new idea, but a continuation of the description of the man of sin. Others consider it as a particle of time qualifying τὸ κατέχον : Ye know what at present restraineth. Such a meaning would, however, require that the order of the words should be καὶ τὸ νῦν κατέχον, as the adverb must have an emphatic place between the article and the participle. Perhaps it is best to consider it likewise as a particle of time, but to connect it with οἴδατε, recalling the information of the Apostle mentioned in the previous verse : “And now, as I have informed you, you know what re-

straineth." *Ye know what restraineth* (τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε). The reference is not to any hindrance put upon the Apostle in preaching the Gospel, or in speaking more plainly of the man of sin, as, for example, the fear of incurring the wrath of Nero; nor is the reference to the cause of the delay of the advent of Christ, which was deferred beyond the expectations of the Thessalonians; but, as is evident from what follows, to that which restraineth the appearance of the man of sin. *In order that he may be revealed* (εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι): the purpose or design of this restraining influence: in order that the revelation of the man of sin might not be premature. *In his own time* (ἐν τῷ ἐάντου καιρῷ). There is a time appointed in the providence of God for the coming of the man of sin. All things occur in their own time. There are preparations going on before their occurrence: all things are connected together as causes and effects; there is a chain of sequences, so that one event leads on to another. Thus Christ came "in the fulness of time." The Israelites were long prevented entering the promised land, because the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full. So here the man of sin was not to be revealed until the time was ripe. Until then, the restraining influence was at work: but when the time came, that influence would be withdrawn.

Ver. 7.—*For the mystery of lawlessness* (τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας). By a mystery is meant not that which is incomprehensible in itself, but something that is concealed previous to its being revealed or made known: here it is called a mystery in contrast to the subsequent revelation of the man of sin. Some suppose that the genitive here is the genitive of apposition, the mystery which is lawlessness; others that it expresses the characteristic of the mystery. In the Apocalypse mystery (μυστήριον) is one of the appellations of the Babylonish whore or Antichrist. Compare also 1 Tim. iii. 16, where Christ is called "the mystery of godliness" (τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον). *Is already working* (ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται). There is a secret influence at work—a preparation for the open manifestation. So St. John, in his Epistle, says that, although the advent of Antichrist was in the future, yet there

were numerous signs of his coming, heralds of his approach. "Ye have heard that Antichrist shall come; even now are there many Antichrists." *Only until he that now hinders be removed* (μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται). These words have been variously translated. It has been thought that some words are required to be supplied to complete the sense. The Authorized Version has "Only he who now letteth *will let*, until he be taken out of the way"; and the Revised Version, "Only *there is* one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way." But there does not appear to be any necessity for such a completion of the sense. The translation in the margin of the Revised Version is to be preferred: "Only until he that now restrains be taken out of the way." The mystery of lawlessness will continue to work in secret until the restraining influence be removed. It is to be observed that there is here a change of gender. In the former verse, the restraining influence is represented as a *thing* (τὸ κατέχον), but here he is represented as a *person* (ὁ κατέχων). Hence it is argued that it must be regarded in some sense as a thing, and in another sense as a person; as, for example, τὸ κατέχον may represent the Roman empire, whilst ὁ κατέχων may represent the reigning emperor.

Ver. 8.—*And then shall the lawless one be revealed* (καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος). When the restraining influence is removed, the lawless one will be emboldened to make his appearance: he will be revealed. By the lawless one (ὁ ἄνομος) is meant the man of sin (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας). There are not two persons or influences alluded to. Lawlessness is the characteristic of the man of sin.

The passage is a portion of St. Paul's prophecy concerning the man of sin, perhaps one of the most obscure passages in the writings of that great Apostle. We do not, however, intend to enter upon any explanation of the man of sin, a subject which we have formerly treated.¹ We propose to limit ourselves to the restraining influence—that which prevents or counteracts the open manifestation of evil.

¹ The man of sin has been discussed by the writer of this paper in an article in the *Interpreter*, 1884, in his Introduction to the Pauline Epistles, and in his exposition of 2 Thessalonians in the *Pulpit Commentary*.

It is to be observed that both the nature of the man of sin and the influence which hindered his appearance were not necessarily obscure to the Thessalonians. Paul had previously instructed them regarding the nature of this occurrence, and he refers them to the knowledge which he had imparted to them when he was in Thessalonica, "Remember ye not that when I was with you I told you of these things? And now ye know what restraineth." But no such information of these particulars has come down to us, so that our ignorance of them renders this passage dark and enigmatical. Nay, it was this very knowledge of the Thessalonians that is the cause of our ignorance. Paul had no necessity to explain himself more explicitly. Similarly with regard to Paul's thorn in the flesh, a subject which has given rise to endless opinions, Paul was under no necessity to explain it to the Corinthians, because they were well acquainted with its nature when he resided among them.

We have here the announcement of a restraining influence which prevents the full manifestation of evil. "Ye know what restrains in order that he, the man of sin or the apostasy, may be revealed in his own time." There was some principle or power which for the present kept evil in check—prevented its open manifestation. But still, even then evil was working secretly; it was a mystery, a hidden principle not yet manifested; there were below the surface symptoms of its operation; there was a leaven of wickedness tainting the community; and when once the restraining influence was removed, evil would burst forth and obtain the mastery: "For the mystery of lawlessness is even now working, until he that now restraineth is removed, and then shall the lawless one be revealed." When the barrier that dams up the water gives way, the full flood precipitates itself and carries devastation over the plains beneath. The state of things described by the Apostle was the then condition of the world—the mystery of lawlessness working in secret, and some restraining influence preventing it concentrating its powers, accumulating its strength, and breaking through the barriers of law and order.

Good and evil are intermingled in this world: good as the restraining principle, and evil as the mystery of lawlessness.

Sometimes they exist apparently at peace together, but even then the peace is only apparent. At other times they are arrayed against each other, like armed men preparing for the struggle. The conflict between these two principles is constant, though at times it is more violent and pronounced. Such a conflict is carried on in the individual soul ; the flesh, or the principle of evil, contending with the spirit, or the principle of good. And this conflict in the soul finds its parallel in the history of the world. The same war between good and evil is there waged on a larger scale and on a wider platform. The evil contends with the good for the mastery ; the kingdom of darkness with the kingdom of light ; Satan and his principalities and powers with Christ, the King of righteousness and truth. In the mystic language of the Apocalypse, "There is war in heaven : Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels."

It appears to be the uniform doctrine of Scripture, both in the prophecies of the Old Testament and in the hints and disclosures of the New, that directly before the consummation of all things there will be a final and desperate struggle between the principles of good and evil. The restraining influence will be partially relaxed, and in consequence there will be a great outburst of evil in this final crisis of the world's history. The man of sin, the lawless one, will come forth out of obscurity ; there will be a reaction in favour of evil, a serious departure from the faith, a reign of licentiousness. Thus St. Paul tells us that "the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." And again, "This know, that in the last days perilous times will come." St. Peter informs us that there shall come "scoffers in the last days, walking after their own lusts." St. John, in his Epistle, tells us that toward the close of the world's history Antichrist will come : "It is the last time, and as ye have heard, Antichrist shall come." And especially in the Apocalypse this final struggle between good and evil is described in mystic terms and in graphic language : and even after the millennium the devil will be let loose, and will gather

his forces for the last great struggle. And in the apocalyptic books of the Jews, the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Sibylline Oracles, the same struggle of good and evil at the end of the world is indicated. At present, however, this state of matters has not arisen ; the mystery of lawlessness is indeed at work, not openly, but as it were in secret ; the arm of the law is still strong enough to repress the excesses of iniquity. Still, however, the symptoms of that working may be discerned ; the present may be only the calm before the storm, the pause before the battle.

The restraining influence must ultimately be referred to the will of God. God is the great Restrainer ; no evil can happen without His permission ; the kingdom of Satan and of darkness is entirely under His control. His Providence ruleth over all, and all events and agencies are subject to His sway. There is no power nor influence that can prevail against the Most High. History is to Him not the record of unforeseen events, but the development of His eternal purpose. And further, the Lord Jesus Christ is constituted the Ruler among the nations : He is the King of kings and Lord of lords ; all power is committed to Him in heaven and in earth ; and He is made Head over all things for the good of His Church. His will is paramount ; His power is almighty ; and no combination of force can prevail against His authority.

But still it must be remembered that the will of God, as applied to the moral government of His creatures, generally operates by means. It is not a hard, inflexible, unbending law, but rather a moral influence acting upon the human will, and exerted through human instrumentality. Hence, then, we must not be content with a general reference to the will of God, but look for the restraining influence alluded to in some power then existing in the world. The Fathers regarded the Roman empire as the restraining power. On this ground, Tertullian exhorts Christians to pray for the preservation of the Roman empire. "We Christians," he observes, "are under peculiar necessity of praying for the emperors and for the stability of the empire, because we know that dreadful power that hangs

over the world and the conclusion of the age, and which threatens the most horrible evils, is only retarded by the continued existence of the Roman empire." And again, he says: "What obstacle is there to the coming of Antichrist but the Roman empire, the falling away of which, by being scattered into ten kingdoms, shall introduce Antichrist upon its ruins?" "If St. Paul," observes Chrysostom, "had said that the Roman empire would soon be dissolved, the heathen world would have destroyed him as a rebel, and all the faithful with him, as persons who took up arms against the state. But St. Paul means the Roman empire; and when that shall have been taken away the man of sin will come. For as the power of Babylon was dissolved by the Persian dynasty, and the Persian was supplanted by the Greek, and the Greek by the Roman, so will the Roman be dissolved by Antichrist, and Antichrist by Christ."

Such an explanation of the restraining influence was not only natural to the Fathers, but it is itself plausible. The man of sin was the lawless one, and is described as the mystery of lawlessness; whilst the Roman empire, though heathen, was the visible embodiment of law and government. But the Roman empire has been dissolved, and even its supposed continuation in the holy Roman empire of Germany has disappeared, and yet the man of sin has not been revealed. We adopt a modification of this view as the true solution. Not the Roman empire itself, but that which the Roman empire represents—the principle of law and government—we consider to be the restraining influence. The principle of evil which shall manifest itself in the last days is lawlessness; and hence the restraining or antagonistic principle must be law and government, the principle of legality as opposed to that of lawlessness. Rulers are a terror to evil-doers; they are ordained to restrain licentiousness, to punish crime, to keep in check the workings of evil, to maintain law and order, to defend the weak against the strong, to protect the oppressed against the oppressor. And as long as government is exercised by a strong and firm hand, as long as law causes itself to be honoured and obeyed, as long as the

penalties which the law pronounces are carried into effect, so long will the principle of evil, the mystery of lawlessness, be repressed ; and although it may work secretly, yet it will not be permitted to lift up its head. Whereas if the arm of the law becomes enfeebled, if its commands are disobeyed with impunity, then the obstacle to the development of evil is removed, and then shall be revealed that lawless one, the son of perdition. If the restraints of law and government be removed, anarchy will be the inevitable result.

We consider, then, that when Paul speaks of that which withholdeth the manifestation of the man of sin, he alludes to the power of law and government in his time embodied in the Roman empire. But this is an abstract principle, and must be embodied in the actions and lives of virtuous subjects ; and therefore with this maintenance of a well-ordered government must be combined the moral influence of good men. Holy men, by their beneficial example, their wholesome exhortations, and their loving ways, are a preservative leaven cast into the lump of humanity. They are the salt of the world, preserving it from moral corruption. Little does the world know what it owes to the existence in it of good men. Ten righteous men would have saved Sodom and the cities of the plain ; and for want of them Sodom was destroyed. We read in the Apocalypse that the vials of Divine wrath were kept back from being poured on the earth in consequence of the presence of righteous men, and the world received a lengthening of its tranquillity. "And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God, and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt neither the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God on their forehead." And our Saviour tells us that it was for the sake of the elect that the days of misery and tribulation were shortened at the destruction of Jerusalem. Besides, the prayers of the saints have power with God. If the prayers of Elijah were the means of drawing down the Divine vengeance, much more we may well believe will the prayers of good men have

influence with God to the prevention of His judgments. The existence of righteous men in the Church and in the world prevents the coming of the man of sin.

Another restraining influence is the preaching of the pure Gospel. Wherever the Gospel is preached in its simplicity and purity ; wherever the Cross of Christ is exalted as the great method of salvation ; wherever holiness and purity as arising from the Spirit's influence are insisted on, the Gospel proves itself as the power of God unto salvation. There is an efficacy in the preaching of the Cross for the production of holiness, and consequently for the restraint of evil, and the retardation of a season of lawlessness, which does not exist in the most eloquent discourses on morality. But when the purity of the Gospel is corrupted ; when the doctrine of the Cross is ignored ; when the agency of the Spirit is seldom insisted on ; when Christianity is stripped of all that is supernatural in it and of all that is peculiar to it, and is reduced to a mere system of natural religion and of ethics : then the Gospel is divested of its power ; the salt has lost its savour ; the light that is in it is converted into darkness, and the restraining influence is taken out of the way.

Religion must be combined with law and government, otherwise law and government lose their stability. It is righteousness that exalteth a nation. And therefore we mention the recognition of national religion, by means of an Established Church, as an important factor in the influence restraining evil. Law and government ought to be concentrated in Christ. He is the great Lawgiver and Governor among the nations. Christ must be recognized, not merely in the religious sphere as the Head of His body, the Church, but also in the sphere of civil government as the King of kings and Lord of lords ; His sovereignty over the nations is to be maintained, as well as His headship over the Church. When God is recognized and owned in our courts of judicature and in our legislative assemblies ; when the religion of Christ is established in the land ; when the blessing of God is publicly asked upon our nation's councils, so long does the safety of our country stand on the two pillars of law

and religion. An Established Church may not be necessary for the individual's religion ; but it is the recognition of national religion—it is the nation owning God as its Law-giver and King ; and hence it follows that the maintenance of an Established Church in its purity is one of the means for preventing the manifestation of lawlessness.

The Apostle not only asserts that there was a restraining influence which hindered the manifestation of lawlessness, but he tells us that the mystery of lawlessness was even now working, working at the very time he was writing. It was working in the State in its attacks on law and government. A few years after the Apostle wrote these words the Roman empire appeared to be on the point of dissolution. On the death of Nero pretenders to the imperial throne arose. In the course of one year four emperors—Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian—succeeded one another. There were civil wars and commotions throughout the whole empire ; the framework of society appeared about to be dissolved. The mystery of lawlessness was working also in the Church. Even at the time that the Apostle wrote the seeds of apostasy were already sown ; the leaven of lawlessness was fermenting in the heart of Christianity ; the foundations of a false Christianity, in the promulgation and development of Gnosticism, were being laid. And so also in several epochs of history the same active working of lawlessness can be discerned. As, for example, at the dissolution of the Roman empire, in the State by the excursions of the barbarians from the north, and in the Church by the growth of Arianism ; at the Reformation in the shaking of the governments of the kingdoms of Europe, and in the disruption of the Christian Church ; and at the French Revolution, when lawlessness and revolt against all authority prevailed.

So also in our own days, we are not without signs of the working of the mystery of lawlessness. The revolt against government, the disregard of law and authority, the inculcation of revolutionary opinions, are not unknown among us. There are dangerous symptoms of this lawless spirit in the present time. We need only allude to that licentiousness which is

making itself felt among all classes of society ; to those disputes between labour and capital ; to those Socialistic movements, divorced from religion and allied to infidelity, which are so prevalent, especially on the Continent ; to those acts of violence and daring which are shaking the foundations of society ; to that spirit of nihilism which advocates the dissolution of all law and order ; to those political theories which would overthrow the rights of property : all which are proofs that the mystery of lawlessness is working among us ; that there are tendencies and principles which, if unchecked, will herald the reign of Antichrist. It is a matter of thankfulness that law still maintains its pre-eminence, that the voice of public opinion is still on the side of order, and that the restraining influence is still able to counteract the secret workings of evil.

The working of lawlessness is also seen in the increase of irreligion and immorality. Here lawlessness works in secret. In a certain sense, religion appears to be on the increase ; at least, if not more practised, it is more talked about. But let us look below the surface ; let us discern the secret workings of evil. Perhaps, along with an apparent increase of religion, there is a real decrease. The lukewarmness and religious indifference which are so prevalent ; the profession of religion with the absence of its practice ; the antinomian doctrines which are taught ; the carelessness in the performance of our religious duties ; the formality of our religious services ; the decline of family religion ; the relaxation of parental authority ; the want of natural affection ; the loose views concerning the observance of the Sabbath ; the increasing number of those who live in the habitual neglect of religious ordinances—especially among the rising generation : are all alarming symptoms, showing that religion does not exert that influence over the community which it once exercised, and that the tide of religious fervour, instead of advancing, is retiring. And along with this increase of irreligion, there is also discernible an increase of immorality. It is true that certain crimes have decreased. Theft is, perhaps, not so common as it once was ; our prisons are not so full of

criminals. Drunkenness, perhaps, may not be on the increase, though it is difficult otherwise to account for the large increase of revenue arising from the sale of alcoholic liquors. But there are other vices equally hurtful which are on the increase. We allude especially to impurity, that fruitful parent of misery, that prolific source of corruption, and which, if it prevails, will overthrow the foundations of social life. Our newspapers are almost daily polluted with the records of abominable trials. Luxury also, that sure sign of national corruption, is greatly on the increase; the national spirit is becoming enervated and weakened, so that the nation is in danger of becoming like Rome in the latter days of the empire, when its pristine virtue was lost amid abounding licentiousness.

Another sign of the working of evil is the prevalence of scepticism. The last days will not only be an age of irreligion, but of unbelief. Antichrist denieth both the Father and the Son. The man of sin opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or is worshipped. And our Lord strongly intimates that when He cometh, faith will have almost disappeared: "Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" Now, whatever diversity of opinion may exist as to whether there is an increase of irreligion and immorality, none can call in question the fact that the age in which we live is pre-eminently a sceptical age. The most sacred truths of religion are called in question; the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are denied, the supernatural in religion is discarded, and even the resurrection of Christ, that fact on which His religion is founded, is denied and explained away, as if it were a myth or a delusion of the brain. In this age atheism is openly professed and maintained. Formerly it was a matter of dispute whether a real atheist could exist; whether a sense of God was not so deeply rooted in human nature that it could not be eradicated; whether it is not a characteristic of man that he is a religious being, even as he is a rational being. But in our days we find men coming unblushingly forward and making an open avowal of atheism. And such impious men are not shunned and avoided and put out of society, as

they would have been in the days of our fathers, but are openly countenanced both in the scientific and in the political world. Their atheistic opinions form no barriers to their social position and political influence.

The attempts which are made at the disestablishment of our national Churches are another proof of the working of the spirit of lawlessness. Evils of a gigantic nature would arise if ever this should become an accomplished fact. Heresies would increase, and give rise to numerous sects and divisions. Many would depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils. Infidelity would receive a mighty impulse, and would increase and flourish. Christians, instead of being united, would become disunited and incapable of presenting a bold front to the foe. It was a true remark which the late Mr. Bradlaugh is reported to have made, when arguing in favour of disestablishment, that an Established Church was an obstacle to the diffusion of infidel opinions. It is gratifying to find that certain leaders among the Nonconformists have withdrawn themselves from the so-called Liberation Society, because they will not unite with infidels and politicians in the overthrow of a Christian Church.

If a well-ordered government is the great restraining influence, and if a disregard to law and government is the sure precursor of Antichrist, then certainly our great duty is the support and maintenance of order. It may only require a dissolution of order and a corruption of morals greater and more general than that which occurred at the first great French Revolution to usher in the coming of the man of sin, that son of perdition. How essential is it that we should come forward on the side of law, order, and authority; that we should guard against every approach to anything that might shake the stability of the government of our country; and especially that we should be promoters of goodness, and by cultivating holiness, purity, and charity, become in our own spheres the preservers of society, so that the great day of conflict may be deferred.

We ought, even in the midst of much that is depressing, to cultivate confidence in the final victory of the good. It is

certainly a somewhat pessimistic view to take of the prospects of the human race to be told that the mystery of lawlessness is active in its operations ; that evil is on the increase ; that faith is diminishing ; that immorality, infidelity, and atheism are spreading ; that luxury is enervating our national character ; that the bonds of civil society are loosening ; and that the time will come, sooner or later, when all the checks and hindrances and restraints which law and government and religion put upon evil will for a time be removed, and that the world will be given up to lawlessness and crime. But, so far from having our faith weakened or destroyed when we see these things coming to pass, we ought to lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh. Man's extremity is God's opportunity. After the storm there is the calm. We believe in the government of One who can make all things work together for good, with whom there are neither accidents nor failures ; who sits enthroned in the heavens and laughs at the puny efforts of His enemies to overthrow His cause and to frustrate His purposes ; and who will bring out of this final struggle, which will decide the destiny of our race, the ultimate good of man, the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, the final triumph of good over evil, the new heavens, and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. "Then shall be revealed the lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the Spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming."

NOTE.—In this article we have purposely avoided all discussion concerning the nature of the man of sin. Whether the mystery of iniquity is the system of Romanism, as some suppose ; or whether the man of sin will be realized as an individual of gigantic power, enormous daring, and extreme wickedness, as others think ; or whether, according to a third opinion, there will be an alliance between an anti-christian religion and a lawless democracy—a coalition, as Lange puts it, between completed absolution and completed radicalism, we have not sought to determine : but whatever form the mystery of iniquity will assume, a disregard to law and order, a spirit of anarchy will be its characteristic feature.

PATON J. GLOAG, D.D.

THE BIBLE AND SCIENCE.

PART III.

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF WORLDS.

THE Stars of earth have their biographies ; and if written by sympathetic spirits, and they were Stars of genial influence, a few hours spent in their company will rest the soldier wearied in the march of life, and help him to fight more bravely in the coming struggle. In like manner, the stars of heaven have their biographies ; and as none but enthusiasts would undertake the hard task of discovering and writing them, we may be certain that they are done in appreciative mood ; and we may well hope that a little time spent in tracing their strange careers will not be lost, but will, like all other studies of nature, shed a fresh light on the wondrous wisdom of their Author ; and perhaps help us to understand more fully His other revelation of Himself, given to us through the minds of those men who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.

It must suffice just now to state very briefly the present general consensus of opinion regarding the lives of worlds.

WORLDS IN THEIR BABYHOOD.

There are always to be seen, on a clear night, a number of faintly luminous patches in the sky, like small clouds floating there, and which are named *nebulæ*. They puzzled astronomers for a long time, as it was difficult to make out what they were. At length powerful telescopes showed some of them to be clusters of stars, but so far away that their light became blended into a common glow. Dr. Huggins, when examining the spectra of some stars, conceived the idea of examining the *nebulæ* by the same means. He tried the small planetary nebula in the constellation "Dragon," and was startled to find that there was not

any continuous spectrum, but only a few bright lines ; clearly proving that it was a mass of glowing gas, or rather gases, for the position of the lines showed that the gases were nitrogen and hydrogen. Such nebulae are therefore in the first stage of world-formation. They are masses of gas at so high a temperature that whatever substances exist in them are volatilized by the intense heat, and exist as vapour only.

The source of this heat has naturally given rise to many guesses ; the most popular at the present time being what may be called the "clashing" hypothesis. This assumes that space abounds in masses of matter, which coming into violent contact with each other, have their motion changed into an intense heat. These colliding masses then gradually become more dense near the centre, and have a rotatory motion. That there are such masses of solid matter moving in space does not admit of doubt ; we know them as "shooting stars," certain November showers of them having been of great brilliancy.

WORLDS IN THEIR INFANCY.

The Orion nebula was for some time believed to be altogether gaseous, and therefore in the earliest stage, but Drs. Draper and Huggins succeeded in the difficult task of obtaining a photograph of its spectrum. In addition to the bright lines, it gave also a continuous spectrum, showing that while the great mass of the nebula was still in a state of vapour, there was also a portion of it existing as very greatly condensed vapour, or fluid matter. This is a step in advance. The glowing mass has now given off so much of its heat that the cooled matter has by cooling and gravity much condensed, and thus formed the nucleus of a solid world.

In these few lines are compressed the researches of years into phenomena so stupendous as to far surpass all human imagination, the objects being at distances some of which are so great as to be unmeasurable ;—researches which indicate almost infinite skill and wondrous patience. If our admiration of the mental powers of the student of the stars be so great, how utterly words must fail to express our thoughts about

the Being who called them into existence, and keeps them so steadily in their appointed spheres, that these blazing orbs appear to us as the very emblems of peace and stillness.

WORLDS IN THEIR CHILDHOOD.

We have a good illustration of the next stage of world growth in our own sun, the centre round which the earth revolves.

His actual physical condition is ascertained with tolerable accuracy by means of the spectroscope, and the mode of progress towards that condition can be fairly inferred from known physical laws.

The solar spectrum is continuous, which shows that the light proceeds from a body in a solid fluid or condensed gaseous condition ; it is crossed by dark lines, which tell us that the light passes through vapours of the substances indicated by the positions of the lines. It is, consequently, concluded that the sun is an enormous mass of glowing gas, in different degrees of condensation, having a diameter of 865,000 miles. From this huge body there issues in every *second* of time as much heat as would come from the burning of 16,436,000,000,000,000 of tons of the best anthracite coal ! These figures are easily written, but not easily apprehended. To gain some slight estimate of their meaning, let us imagine ourselves to start counting so that we shall number one each second day and night ; it would be 511,451,335 years before the job would be finished ! It is calculations such as these that give us a little insight into the mightiness of the operations of nature.

As no known forms of life can exist where metals float as vapour, we must, therefore, so far at least as life is concerned, consider the sun as a world in childhood. And the same is true, in great degree, about all the other stars, as their spectra very closely resemble that of our own centre.

As we think of these things we almost seem to hear the mighty roar of these mighty furnaces of the skies, but the dread of some great catastrophe that seems almost inevitable is stilled by the reply to the question, "Canst thou bind the

cluster of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?" No, we cannot; but Job supplies the answer, "I know that Thou canst do all things, and that no purpose of Thine can be restrained."

WORLDS IN THEIR YOUTH.

A good illustration of the next step in advance is afforded by the most beautiful object in the heavens, the planet Saturn. That world has cooled so far as not to be any longer incandescent, it shines only by reflected light. But it is still the lightest planet in the solar system, a large portion of its great bulk being most probably in the condition of heated and turbulent vapours. We shall not be far wrong if we further consider it as only in the moon-forming stage. That wondrous ring by which it is surrounded, and which has puzzled so many astronomers, having been ascertained to consist of innumerable little moons revolving around the larger body. These will probably condense into one or more larger moons. Eight complete satellites have been already found, but they are *comparatively* young, one being so very near the body of the primary.

Jupiter has advanced a stage farther, for its density is greater, although that is only one-fourth part of the density of the earth. Its moon system also is complete, they being fully formed; but still, on account of its great size, which will require a longer time to cool, it is far from manhood.

WORLDS IN THEIR MATURITY.

We now find ourselves at home, our earth being the only world we know which is now in this stage. Its past conditions had better be described by R. A. Proctor. "The surface would at last become so cool that the waters which had hitherto been suspended in mid air, in the form either of steam or of cloud masses, would be able to rest on the surface as seas and oceans. Dry land would appear, life would become possible on the transformed world." It ought to be remembered that these are the words of Proctor, not of Moses; for if this be not borne in mind, we might forget for the

moment that we were not reading the first chapter of Genesis. This is not earth's final condition ; it, like other worlds, will pass from maturity to decay, and from decay to death.

WORLDS IN THEIR DEATH.

Popularly speaking, bodies become cool in proportion to their smallness. A ball of iron of an inch diameter will become cold much sooner than a ball having a diameter of twelve inches. The earth has a diameter of about 8,000 miles, while that of the moon is only 2,160 miles ; if therefore both were at one time of the same temperature, we see that the moon would lose its heat much sooner than the earth. As a world cools and grows old the water upon its surface is gradually drawn into the interior of its body until every trace disappears. This process appears to be going on at the present time in Mars. There would not then be any cloud or mist to float in the atmosphere, even if any air to float it were finally left. In such a condition is now the moon. Its surface indicates a past state of violent volcanic activity, being bubbled over with craters, some of them seventy miles across ; crater intersecting crater ; chasms a mile wide, extending for great distances. However useful it may be to us, the moon is in itself a dead world.

How many more lightless, dead worlds there may be in space we cannot tell. There may be many giant orbs careering somewhere, which have lost all their light in times long past, but whose existence cannot be ascertained by any means at our disposal. The more interesting question, however, is—*Are all worlds to die ?* Astronomy answers with an unfaltering "Yes." As Professor Young has said, "The whole course and tendency of nature, so far as science now makes out, points backward to a beginning, and forward to an end. The present order of things seems to be bounded, both in the past and in the future, by terminal catastrophes, which are veiled in clouds as yet impenetrable."

There has been much loud vociferation that the present order of the universe cannot change, because the "conservation of energy" proves it to be impossible. This is the

position taken by many "agnostics"; and as agnostics seem to be, more than most men, familiar with the secrets of the universe, it must appear presumptuous to question their infallibility. Nevertheless, in the interests of truth, the presumption must be faced.

Professor Balfour Stewart has published a work in the International Scientific Series, entitled, *The Conservation of Energy*. In that book he says, "The principle of the conservation of energy asserts that the sum of all the various energies (of the universe) is a constant quantity." For example, that 1 electricity + 2 position + 3 heat + 4 motion = 10. These quantities being supposed to be self-contained, the total must always be the same, vary the energies as we may. We can have 7 electricity, in which case we cannot have more than 1 position + 1 heat + 1 motion. This position we readily accept.

There is, however, another fact to be taken into account, when speaking of the conservation of energy, and that is "the dissipation of energy." We can change 6 of work into 6 of heat, but we cannot by any means change back again the 6 of heat into 6 of work. As Prof. Stewart says, "The process is not a reversible one; and the consequence is that the mechanical energy of the universe is becoming every day more and more changed into heat." We have somewhere used the following rough illustration of this fact: We can imagine ourselves standing on a plank, over a deep pool, with twelve coins in one pocket. We transfer these coins into another pocket, and re-transfer them back again. Now, if we can do this without loss of a coin, we might go on for ever. But if every time we transfer them we drop one into the pool beneath, we become poorer by one, and the process of transference must come to an end. The coins still exist, but they are useless to us for barter. In like manner, the dissipation of the coins of energy cannot go on for ever; consequently, "the mechanical energy of the universe will be more and more transformed into universally diffused heat, until the universe will no longer be a fit abode for living beings." Still more strongly Prof. Stewart states, in the same work, "We

are led to look to a beginning, in which the particles of matter were in a diffuse, chaotic state, but endowed with the power of gravitation; and we are led to look to an end, in which the whole universe will be one equally heated, inert mass, and from which everything like life, or motion, or beauty, will have utterly gone away."

These are startling words; and yet, to the student of Scripture, the thought ought to be familiar. True, these things are the brilliant discoveries of modern times, but what wrote the Psalmist of Israel 2,900 years ago? "The heavens are the work of Thy hands. They shall perish, but Thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt Thou change them, and they shall be changed." The Homer of Old Testament poetry sings in similar strains, "Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath: for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment." What was there in earth or star to suggest to an uninstructed mind the idea of the transition character of the present universe?¹ There were no spectroscopic discoveries or meteoric theories then. No telescope swept the heavens. These stars were objects of such wonder that men began to worship them (Deut. iv. 19), and to regard them as the very types and symbols of eternity; and yet, while the fact of the dissipation of energy is a discovery of recent years, its results were stated no less than 2,900 years ago. It is true that the poet has told us that—

"The stars shall fade away, the sun himself
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years,"

but he derived his inspiration from the older poets of Israel. Let the agnostics explain it as they may, it is to be hoped that they will acknowledge that here, at least, there is no antagonism between the Bible and science.

WORLDS IN THEIR RESURRECTION.

Is the universe, when dead, to remain for ever dead, or is

¹ See also Matt. xxiv. 35; 2 Peter iii. 10; Rev. xxii. 11; Isa. xiii. 10; Joel ii. 10.

it to begin its course again, and have another chapter added to its story? Science, of course, must here be silent, or at best but imagine what may be. We are, however, told that no particle of matter is ever annihilated, nor is any energy ever lost. Matter may disappear from view, or assume countless forms, but it still exists somehow, somewhere. Energy may cease to manifest its power, and become energy of position only, still it is there as energy of position. Imagine, therefore, countless dark worlds of all sizes moving through space. What more likely than that some of them should come into collision? If so, that clash would disturb the existing conditions, motion would be changed into heat, and the universe enter on a fresh career. Some such thought must have been present to the mind of Prof. Jevons when he wrote, "It may be that the present period of material existence is but one of an indefinite series of like periods. All that we can see, and feel, and infer, and reason about, may be, as it were, but a part of one single pulsation in the existence of the universe."¹

Where science has no further word to speak, Scripture takes up the wondrous tale. So early as Isaiah do we read, "For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth." And the statement of St. Peter is most distinct: "Nevertheless, we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." Of similar import are the words of St. John in the Apocalypse (xxi. 1). Here, consequently, is the new start that science has been dreaming of—a new chapter in which will be written a tale different from any ever told before. The universe will have a new function to perform—to make of its many worlds one palace-home for the children of the King; whose bodies, then glorious and powerful, shall be able to pass as flashes of lightning to and fro: a chapter that shall have no end, "For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, *shall remain before Me*, saith the LORD, so shall your seed and your name remain" (Isa. lxvi. 22). What could be a more fitting destiny for this wondrous universe than that it

¹ *The Principles of Science*, p. 751.

should be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God?

THE PERMANENCE OF HUMANITY.

The writer of the 102nd Psalm takes comfort from the thought that there is One who abides unchanged amid all changes, ever ready to have mercy and to keep the afflicted. Beautifully he says, when speaking of the heavens, "They shall perish, but Thou shalt endure: yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt Thou change them, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall have no end." That which is true of the permanence of God is also true of the permanence of the being whom He has made in His own image; is true of that spirit the Creator breathed into man, when, as the head of all creatures on earth, he was launched on the sea of life.

While science cannot teach us anything definitely about the future condition of human souls, it does prepare the way for the reception of this great truth of immortality by analogies derived from the future destinies of matter.

We are, for example, told that amid all the changes possible to matter no particle is ever lost, or can be destroyed by man. Matter may be heated to vapour, or cooled to solid form; may exist now as charcoal, and now as diamond; may float invisible in the air, or be seen as the timber of our trees; but no particle ceases to be somehow, somewhere. That when the universe is dead, every atom that has being now will have being then. Also, that what is true of matter is equally true of energy. The sum of the energies at present in the universe will be their sum then; matter and its energies, being all ready to commence a new career, should that be their Creator's will. Every arrangement of atoms in that future chapter may be new; there may not be such combinations as air, or wood, or water; not even such as those which at present we call "elements," but the primordial basis of all will exist. If there be such a thing as *protyle*, it will be protyle then as now.

We, on this principle of analogy, infer, apart from reve-

lation, that spirit substance will also survive; and survive with its present modes of activity, its present energies, and present mental combinations; because, as it is a unity and not a complexity, these are essential to its continued existence as a human spirit. All our faculties may be indefinitely exalted, may become capable of greater activity, in apprehension and intuition; but the spirit will be the same spirit still. The mind of the child differs greatly in knowledge from the mind of the cultured scholar, but it is the one mind from youth to age, and from age for ever. This conviction is deepening in intensity in the belief of physicists, biologists, and philosophers. Ulrici states "that all the latest results of physiological research go to show that immortality is probable."¹ As the Rev. Joseph Cook eloquently puts it: "I look up to the highest summits of science, and I reverence properly, I hope, all that is established by the scientific method; but when I lift my gaze to the very uppermost pinnacles of the mount of established truth, I find standing there, not Hckel nor Spencer, but Helmholtz of Berlin, and Wundt of Heidelberg, and Herman Lotze of Gttingen, physiologists as well as metaphysicians all; and they, as free investigators of the relations between matter and mind, are all on their knees before a living God."

Of one thing we are assured, both by reason and by revelation, that humanity will persist, both in body and soul, with whatever fresh senses, capacities, or capabilities may be added by our heavenly Father to make His children still more like Himself; and thus to make their eternal home—those new heavens and new earth in which only righteousness shall dwell—still more full of a glory that shall never fade away.

The inductions of the scientist and the imagination of the poet combine in the great exclamation regarding the soul:—

"The stars shall fade away, the sun himself
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years;
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,
Unhurt amidst the war of elements,
The wreck of matter, and the crash of worlds!"

JAS. McCANN, D.D.

¹ *Gott und der Mensch*, vol. i., pp. 222-25.

IS THERE A DEUTERONOMIST IN JOSHUA?

RESULTS CLAIMED BY THE DISINTEGRATIONISTS.

MOST readers of polemical theological literature are by this time well aware that the higher critics of the Old Testament claim to have proved that the books of the Hexateuch should be broken up into paragraphs; and these paragraphs they assign to three or more groups of writers.

By the Hexateuch is meant the Pentateuch with Joshua added, and the three groups are symbolized as J E, D, and P, to which R should be added.

J E is a compound symbol, made up of J, the Jehovist writers, and of E, the Elohist writers. The origin of the terms Jehovist and Elohist was this: that the paragraphs in which the Almighty was named Jehovah were separated from their context and grouped together as over against those in which He was called Elohim.

These symbols, J and E, are respectively used equally for one writer or more, and for their narratives. Further, E, which at first stood for the Elohist documents, now also represents the Ephraimite narrative, the two being identified.

The title Ephraimite is probably preferred, because the distinction of the names of God cannot always be maintained, *i.e.*, passages given away to the Elohist do not always call God Elohim. Thus Wellhausen so assigns Josh. iv. 10, 15, 18, where Jehovah stands alone to designate the Almighty.

In fact, the unravelling of the web, so as to distinguish between the J and the E element, has, on the showing of our critics themselves, proved "far more difficult and involved than was at first supposed, and the solutions which seem to have been secured have been, in whole or in part, brought in question again" (Hex. p. 139).

To return, JE then stands for a group of harmonizers who fuse into one the documents so formed.

According, then, to this scheme of the critics, J is dated about 800 B.C. ; E, 750 B.C. ; and JE, some time before 650 B.C. These dates range between the times of Jeroboam II., or Amos at the upper, and Josiah or Jeremiah at the lower limit. Considerable parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Joshua are ascribed to JE.

About half the book of Joshua, and that the older half, is consequently placed from 600 to 700 years later than the great leader who lends his name to it. This JE document embodies, the critics would tell us, a tradition *honestly* recorded, but only to be relied upon, when, in their opinion, credible.

The D group of writers are the authors of Deuteronomy and of passages in other books. They were pious (?) fraudists who composed their works in the interests of Monotheism, and of a centralized worship, with a view to the reforms of good king Josiah. The Deuteronomic period commences with 621 B.C. We have a first and second Deuteronomist, single men or schools of writers. A fourth, or less, of Joshua is claimed for D². He took up JE, added to it what suited his purpose, revised the whole, running it into his own mould, and thus framed JE + D, or a document which in view of his general editorship is styled DJE. This Deuteronomic revision is to be distinguished from the general and later revision of which we make mention a few lines lower down.

Following the classification of the critics, we next come to the P group, which consists of the priest-writers of the exilian and post-exilian period from the times of Ezekiel onwards.

Their works are: P¹, the Heiligkeitsgesetz, or law of holiness, *i.e.*, Lev. xvii.—xxvi. ; P², the Priestly Code, to which about a third of Joshua is credited as well as more than half the Pentateuch, beginning with the account of creation in Gen. i.—ii. 4a, this is placed as late as 444 B.C. ; P³ an expansion of P¹ + P².

Finally, R stands for a collective body of redactors who united the DJE document to the P document, and re-edited the whole, throwing our books into their present form. It follows that, according to these critics, the several parts of the book of Joshua range between 700—400 B.C., some of them being a thousand years subsequent to the events they record.

The whole criticism may be symbolized thus :—

R [P + D J E].

DISINTEGRATIONISTS DIVIDED.

Such is a sketch of the conclusions reached by Wellhausen and Kuenen, who may be said to be mainly responsible for the theory in its present phase. But on several important points these critics are not agreed with others of considerable eminence whose methods are much the same as theirs.

Thus Colenso believes that the Elohist wrote in the age of Samuel, that the Jehovist matter in Genesis may all of it have been composed in the age of David and Solomon, and confesses himself unable to discern in it, as yet, any certain signs of the P writers. The latter concession is more important than the former, for Wellhausen gives many chapters in Genesis and Exodus to P. Then Dillman does not accept Wellhausen's order J, E, D, but would make it E, D, J, that is, he would place the Deuteronomist between the Elohist and the Jehovist.

Or, to take up our special subject, the Deuteronomist, Mons. Gustave d'Eichthal,¹ and his fellow-worker, Mons. Maurice Vernes, do not ascribe his activity to the period of Josiah's reforms, but relegates it to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. And in reaching this conclusion they use the materials of Kuenen's fabric.

It may, however, be suggested that inasmuch as these various critics and their schools are all agreed in disturbing the present date, order, and integrity of our books, any differences of detail between them are of secondary importance, and that it is to their general accord that we should lend our attention and our faith.

¹ Principal Cave was good enough to call my attention to the writings of this French school.

Well, that depends. Their agreement may be rationalistic, their disagreement critical.

It is only fair that we should give an illustration of this agreement and this divergence.

Moses, in Deut. xvii. 14-20, anticipates that the people after their settlement in Canaan will desire to set up a king like all the nations round about (Comp. 1 Sam. viii. 5b). This king was to be chosen by God, and to be an Israelite. He was not to multiply horses, which connects itself with a return to Egypt; nor wives, that his heart turn not away; nor silver, nor gold. "When he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom," he was to copy out "this law in a book."

On this Colenso (Pent. part III. p. 612) thus comments: "The mention of the kingdom, with the distinct reference to the dangers likely to arise to the state from the king multiplying to himself 'wives,' and 'silver and gold,' and 'horses,' implies that it was written after the age of Solomon." Implies to those only who do not believe prediction possible.

So again Kuenen, with a not unusual mixture of dogmatism and bad argument, thus remarks on Deut. l.c.: "The law of the monarchy was written after Solomon's time, and with the express purpose of averting errors such as his. This is especially obvious in verse 17, alike from the use of נשים [women, *i.e.*, wives] by itself (unintelligible, in connection with what follows, unless we mentally supply נכריות [strange, 1 Kings xi. 1] from Solomon's history), and from וְלוֹ יִסֹּר לִבּוֹ [that his heart turn not away] (evidently written by some one acquainted with the consequences of Solomon's polygamy). How much more probable this than that Solomon should not only have transgressed the law, but gone on to justify its apprehensions by his own example" (Hex. p. 217).

It is not here stated that prophecy is impossible, but it is easy to see that the Divine inspiration and prescience are assumed to be incredible. The passage, he says, is *evidently* written by some one acquainted with the consequences of Solomon's polygamy.

A belief in miracles is a psychological phenomenon which Kuenen does not formally dispute. It is with him a

matter of taste. But as a fact, in no particular case will he admit that a miracle has occurred.

As to the argument, such as it is, it goes on the supposition (1) that a Divine command must be accompanied by a *full* explanation as to why it should be obeyed ; and (2) what is more surprising, that commands where connected with a penalty will never as a fact be disobeyed. We might add that the wives of kings in most periods of the world's history have been aliens.

D'Eichthal illustrates the critical divergence of the destructive school. He also puts aside the Mosaic authorship of the passage in Deuteronomy. But he denies its reference to Solomon, and finds in the injunction to write a copy of the law an allusion to the sovereigns of the post-captivity period. Are they not of the priest-king type from whom this scribe-like feat might be expected?

To the conservative student, it may seem evident that Colenso and Kuenen on the one side, and d'Eichthal on the other, find precisely what they had made up their minds to look for. Their exegesis is governed by their theory.

While, however, this accusation must stand against some of these writers, it may well be that it is not true of all. There may be those who devoutly accept all the phenomena of supernaturalism and who yet critically agree with Wellhausen.

We proceed to notice some points in which the Book of Joshua, if written before the building of Solomon's temple, would contradict the theory advocated by Wellhausen.

JOSHUA AS IT OPPOSES THE DISINTEGRATIONISTS.

It recognizes Moses not as a semi-legendary, but as an actual and dominant personage. He as God's servant (i. 1) was sent to bring the people out of Egypt (xxiv. 5). God had been with him in a special degree (i. 5). He had sent out the spies, and had given to the whole-hearted Caleb a special promise on his return from that mission, which promise Joshua now willingly respects (xiv. 6-14). Joshua, though the hero of this Book, is yet represented as receiving the

directions of the Divine will mediately through him. He had commanded the conquest and partition of Canaan (xi. 23), yet had excluded his own tribe from their share, giving them, however, certain cities to dwell in and their suburbs for their support (xiv. 3-6; xxi. 2, 8). In settling the two and a half tribes beyond Jordan, he had insisted on certain conditions of military service (xiii. 32; i. 13). He had endowed the daughters of Zelophehad, who, relying on his authority, now make their claim (xvii. 3-6). He had indicated the cities of refuge (xx. 2). The special ritual carried out at Gerizim and Ebal was according to his directions (viii. 30). He is the lawgiver, for he has commanded all the law (i. 7), and the good Israelite was to keep and do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses (xxiii. 6). From him Israel learns the great lessons of love and obedience (xxii. 5). Before he died he earned the allegiance and reverence of the people he had led (i. 17 and iv. 14).

Kuenen complains of a want of fulness and clearness as absent from the narratives of the Hexateuch. It must be admitted, at all events, that these incidental notices of God's great servant are more than we should have expected. Moses, in the Hexateuch, is to us as distinct a figure as is the Duke of Wellington in Napier's history of the war in the Peninsula.

If the mention of other leaders is slight, we observe that it harmonizes with the place they occupy in the middle books of the Pentateuch. Aaron is joined to Moses as having a special Divine commission. Eleazar succeeds his father, and is the colleague of Joshua, as had been represented in Num. xxxiv. 17. Phinehas again follows him in accordance with the promise made to him in Num. xxv. ii. Joshua himself was one from whom we might have expected greatness in view of the frequent mention made of him in Exodus and Numbers.

But not to dwell on this point, though it could easily be developed, let us come to some matters in which Joshua, as an integral work, would plainly be adverse to the Wellhausen theory.

As to holy places. The Gibeonites are condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the Lord in the place which he should choose. This is a recognition of a central sanctuary, a thing unknown until the reign of Josiah, according to the critics.

The tent of meeting, a post-exilian invention of the purely literary kind in Wellhausen's view, already exists, and is set up at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1). At its door the inheritances were distributed to the heads of the tribes (Josh. xix. 51).

In chap. xxii. 9-34 we have a passage which seems replete with religious passion, and so with interest. The nine and a half tribes suspect their trans-Jordanic brethren of so grave impiety that they gather themselves together in Shiloh, where the tent was, as we have seen, intending to go to war with them. But what is their offence? Why, this: they have built an altar on their side the river, and conspicuously in front of it. The explanation given by them of the cause of their conduct emphasizes that they know of only one place for worship.

Again, the six cities of refuge are duly assigned in the Book of Joshua (xx). The homicide may leave this refuge on the death of the high priest. The law of the cities generally belongs, according to Kuenen, to Josiah's reign; the clause as to the high priest is post-exilian. Here again, if our book be good history, it is at variance with the critics.

Next as to holy persons. Our critics distinguish four stages of development in the history of the Israelite priesthood: (1) The Jehovistic period, when any one might act as a priest; (2) the Deuteronomic period of Josiah, when all Levites were priests; (3) that of Ezekiel, when a distinctive family of priests arose; (4) and finally that of Ezra, when a high priest, claiming through Aaron, dominated the whole civil and religious life of the people.

Now, if our Book of Joshua occupies at all its proper place in our Bibles, all this must be upset.

At a date earlier than any of these periods, the priests, the Levites, bear the Ark both through the waters of Jordan and round Jericho, and occupy a distinguished position

beside the Ark while the blessings and curses are being read from Ebal and Gerizim (Josh. iii., iv., vi., vii.).

Eleazar the priest and Joshua together distribute the lots of inheritance to the tribes (xiv. 1; xvii. 3); the priests are children of Aaron and a section of the Levites, and though the title high priest is not used in our book, yet the succession in office of the principal priest is evident, *i.e.*, Aaron, Eleazar, Phinehas; further, the Levites are distinguished from the priests, and have no tribal inheritance, but both priests and Levites have cities appointed to them (chap. xxi.).

Holy seasons and religious rites next claim our attention, and we observe that circumcision precedes the keeping of the Passover, which is on the day appointed in Exodus, and accompanied by the eating of unleavened bread (vers. 2-12). Our critics seem to deprive circumcision of religious importance, and can find no credible traces of a Passover earlier than the times of King Josiah.

These notices may suffice to show the gravity of the Book of Joshua, according as its weight is cast on this or on that side of the controversy. It is, perhaps, in this respect of importance, second only to Deuteronomy.

OUR BOOK, HOW DISINTEGRATED.

Joshua, then, if we take it as a whole, fits very well into its place after the Pentateuch; it carries on the story, the worship, and the laws.

All this is, however, changed if it be ascribed to three or four sets of authors, most of whom write with a motive, and at a period remote from the events they record. The book is put into the press, its back cut off, its sections and verses distributed into various baskets at the bidding of the critic. In this process two instruments are employed; the first literary, the second partly literary, partly historical. The literary process consists in establishing some proofs of the style of the Deuteronomist or of the priest-writer. These passages might be provisionally marked D or P. The next process consists in looking for difficulties of any kind—any apparent con-

tradition, repetition, or break in the narrative ; any peculiarity of grammar, or any divergence between the Hebrew and the LXX. text. Combine the two, and the work is done. Our business is with the literary question, or rather with that part of it which connects Deuteronomy and Joshua.

THE STYLE OF THE DEUTERONOMIST.

Is there, then, a style which marks the author of Deuteronomy ? I do not know that Wellhausen has entered on this subject at all. Kuenen's contribution to it has reference to words and phrases rather than to the general question of style. Colenso has some remarks which are to the point. He speaks of Deuteronomy as full of noble thoughts and glowing expressions, containing scarcely a single lengthy detail of a purely *historic*, *artistic*, or *ceremonial* nature, but wholly devoted to enforcing, in tones of earnest and impassioned eloquence, the paramount duties of morality and religion. This is just.

Deuteronomy is didactic, and its teachings are the outpouring of a heart instinct not only with a holy fear, but with a profound love both to God and to His people. You have a style, not that of simple command, but of the longest, and perhaps of the most loving, sermon in the Old Testament.

Of course, there is no reason why Moses should not be the preacher, but every reason why he should. For who, like him, had talked with God as a friend, or had been willing that for Israel's sake his name should be blotted out of God's Book ? Who else but he was about to leave the world in the fulness of his vigour ? The real question is : why he does not speak like this elsewhere.

If we are otherwise assured of a unity of authorship, we may answer : this is his pulpit manner, and, in that manner, a masterpiece.

Some readers may think that in allowing for style we destroy inspiration. But is not this to take a somewhat Montanistic view of inspiration ? In the opinion of the Montanists, the prophet was the passive instrument, the lyre

or Tyrolese zither, on which God played with His plectrum. Their prophets claimed to be unconscious, to fall into a trance or ecstasy, and when in such a condition they uttered their oracles in a phrenetic manner. We, indeed, agree with those who would emphasize the truth that no prophecy ever came by the will of man; but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost. But even instruments have their characteristic sounds depending on their shape and on their material of metal, wood, or strings. Nay, of similar instruments, each has its idiosyncrasies.

The human instrument, used by the Divine Musician, is a living soul, having its special characteristics, of which style is one.

To return: allowing some difference of style between Deuteronomy and the books which precede it, this may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the same man will write or speak somewhat differently according to the part he is filling as lawgiver, historian, geographer, or preacher.

When we turn to Joshua, or more particularly to its D passages, so called, which are our proper subject of investigation, we observe that their brevity gives very little room for the manifestation of style in this larger sense. With two exceptions, they are all of less than ten verses.

The exceptions are the speeches in chapters xxiii. and xxiv. The latter chapter is assigned to various writers by differing critics.

Both chapters have phrases claimed for D. Parts of both lean on Deuteronomy. The narrative in neither has this relation. The exhortation it is which betrays it. We miss something of the eloquence and passion of Moses.

Our critics mark such parts all through the Book of Joshua as D^s. Well, may not Joshua be D^s? May he not have formed his addresses after his Master's model?

On this subject of style any but great Hebraists might well distrust their own judgment, were it not that we find great Hebraists have differed with each other and with their former selves.

Rosenmuller was, in his day, regarded as a scholar of eminence. His books are still useful. We may cite him in this matter with the more confidence that he certainly was not overburdened with conservatism, for in his commentary on Deuteronomy he cautions the student against the notion that it contains prophecies.

For all that, in another part of the same work, in his introduction to Joshua, he treats as illusory the disintegration of that book on the ground of style and of the use of particular words and phrases.

Again, Kalisch, when he wrote his commentary on Exodus, had not discovered in it a priest-writer who lived centuries later than its other author, or authors. General style is, then, a somewhat doubtful tool to use for purposes of disintegration.

Not doubtful only, but fatal to life. We cannot dismember a living thing with impunity.

Wellhausen takes as the motto of one of his chapters some words of Hesiod—*πλέον ἥμισυ παντός*. Certainly, if we be dealing with a mixture of lies and truth. And lies is not too strong a word in his opinion.

Of 1 Sam. vii. 2-17 he writes: "There cannot be a word of truth in the whole narrative." The result is indicated by a better-known aphorism—*Divide et impera*. So, we may say, the Scriptures of the Old Testament are made to appear as though they lay wounded and half dead under the knife of the critic.

I think I have noticed in some writers a tendency to assume, doubtless for the sake of argument, the truth of some part, or of the whole of the case as presented by the destructive school. Thus, in considering the historical question, Joshua is passed over and the discussion is begun with Judges. But such concession must only be temporary and for a limited purpose. Joshua occupies at present a strongly defensive position. It is a fortress, whose guns command all the lines of attack and render them untenable. This I have endeavoured to show.

STILON HENNING.

EXEGETICAL HINTS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PART III.

"SI vis bonus esse theologus, da operam ut sis bonus textuarius." All sound theology is based on accuracy of textual knowledge. Holy Writ not only bears reverent critical examination, but shines the brighter and the purer for it, like gold out of the furnace. "The words of Jehovah are pure words, as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times." An aged parishioner said to me, "I opened my Bible at Josh. xxiii. 14, 'Ye know in all your hearts and souls, that not one hath failed of all the good things which the Lord your God spake; all are come to pass unto you'; I put the book to my face, burst into tears, and felt, Dear Lord, it is all true."

How from time to time the discoveries of science shed light upon Scripture! Poole, the commentator, wrote on Job. xxviii. 25, "To make a weight for the wind; yea, He meteth out the waters by measure": "To make a weight for the winds, which of themselves are *without any weight*." But the invention of the barometer by Torricelli, and the pressure of the air indicated on conveying it up a mountain, prove the accuracy of Scripture, and the ignorance of the expositor.

We noticed in the last paper that wickedness culminated in the seventh from Adam in Cain's line—Lamech, who made his weapon his god: so godliness culminated in the seventh from Adam in Seth's line—Enoch, who "walked with God." It was "after he begat Methuselah" that Scripture records his beginning this walk. So far is celibacy from being necessary to a higher religious life. God's gift of children awakened in him a new love to God, and a deeper sense of

responsibility. None therefore can say that the cares of a family excuse a worldly walk. Of Enoch and Noah alone it is written, that they "walked *with* God." Others only "walked *before* God"; or else "*after* the Lord" (Deut. xiii. 4; Gen. v. 24; vi. 9; xvii. 1). It was a return to the intercourse of Eden (chap. ii. 19). He walked in the orbit of the "Sun of righteousness" 365 years, a full year of days. Instead of "and he lived so many years," as in the case of the others mentioned in this chapter, the sacred writer has "Enoch walked with God"; also instead of "and he died," it is written of Enoch, "and he was not, for God took him." The Septuagint has, instead of "Enoch walked with God," "Enoch pleased God," *εὐηρέστησε τῷ Θεῷ*. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 5) has the same reading; and explains that the principle of his walk with God was faith, without which it is impossible to please God. Both also, instead of "he was not, for God took him," have "he was not found, for God translated him." As Lamech uttered great "swelling words of impious vanity" in poetical parallelism, so Enoch, the first of the prophets, witnessed for God in inspired verse against the world's sin, and foretold the world's coming doom (Jude 14, 15): "Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of His saints to execute judgment upon all; and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners (like Lamech chap. iv. 23, 24) have spoken against Him." His enemies sought him, being vexed at his prophecies against the ungodly; but "he was not found" (even as Jeremiah, when sought for destruction by Jehoiakim, was not found, Jer. xxxvi. 26; comp. Isa. xxvi. 20, 21); "for God took him" by translation. The Babylonian tradition confirms the primitive revelation, but makes Hasisadra to have been the one translated (Xisuthros, *i.e.*, Noah). Enoch's translation is not inconsistent with the statement in 1 Cor. xv. 20, 23, for it is not of glorification that Christ is the first-fruits, but of the resurrection from the dead. Enoch in the antediluvian period, and Elijah in the post-diluvian period, reached their glorification, not through

death, but by being clothed upon from heaven, without being unclothed of their earthly bodies. Here again, as in the Protevangel (Gen. iii. 15), we see that the earliest prophecies looked not only to Messiah's first advent in lowliness, but onward to His coming in glory. Enoch himself, in his translation, is a prophetic assurance to us of our final victory over death, either by transfiguration, if living, or by resurrection, if sleeping, at Christ's return. His translation typifies the rapture of the living saints to meet the Lord in the air. They too shall be sought for by ungodly enemies, but shall not be "found"; because God shall have translated them (Ps. xxxi. 20). Compare the search for the translated prophet Elijah by the sons of the prophets, who were, however, not enemies, but friends; see also song of Sol. vi. 12, 13.

We read in Gen. vi. 29 that Lamech called his son "Noah, saying, this same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." Geology reveals traces of a glacial age reaching far southward, which came to its close about the time of the first traces of man on earth. Variations of temperature and of the earth's surface, between that time and the age of the Flood, must have caused widespread suffering. Men's straits in obtaining food accord with the curse pronounced upon the soil at the Fall. Lamech succeeded to his grandfather Enoch in the gift of prophecy, and foretells the mitigation of the curse under his son, whom he accordingly named Noah. His words fall into euphonious and poetical form. His pious anticipation, resting on God's promise, forms a striking contrast to Lamech the Cainite's verses of impious defiance. Noah means the *comforter* or *bringer of rest* by helping; [נֹחַ] *heeniach* means to bring *rest* or *breathing-time*. Lamech's prophecy was partially fulfilled under Noah, when the transition took place after the Flood, from a world in which the curse predominated, to one comparatively under the blessing, with the rainbow as the sign of God's new covenant with man. The Flood purged away the corrupt race, and Noah, who walked with God, became father of a

new race, to which God conceded flesh as food, and so mitigated the curse.

Lenormant shows the widespread traditions of a world-wide catastrophe. The Babylonian tradition dating 2300 B.C. by its close resemblance to the Scripture History proves its derivation from the primitive record ; but its introduction of demi-gods, such as Izdubar and Hea, betrays it to be a corrupted version. What strikingly confirms the Genesis story is that it alone *combines* particulars scattered in the various traditions. It begins with God's warning, found also in the Babylonian, Hindoo, and Cherokee Indian versions. It mentions the care for animals, which appears in the Babylonian, Indian, and Polynesian stories. It reckons the saved as *eight*, as do the Fiji and Chinese traditions. It has the birds sent forth, as in the Babylonian ; the dove, in common with the Greek and Mexican ; the olive branch, with the Phrygian ; the altar, with the Babylonian and Polynesian. The Hebrew could not be derived from any of the others, whilst they all can be derived from it. Evidently this consentient testimony to the Flood, given by so diverse and so widely-separated races in every quarter of the globe, proves that it must have occurred before their present dispersion and whilst still occupying a more limited area than now. It confirms Holy Writ as to the historical unity of mankind.

The Flood bridges the chasm between the rough palæolithic implements of ancient man and the smooth Neolithic ones of comparatively historic times. The spirited outline-drawings on ivory of the mammoth found in the French Périgord Cave, and the ancient stone implements in the gravels, brick-earths, and caves associated with bones of the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and elk, prove man's coevality with these extinct animals. But what follows as the inference from these evidences, is, the *recency* of some great convulsion rather than the antiquity of the creatures affected by it. Dr. Murray, of the "Challenger" expedition, calculates that there is water enough to cover the whole globe two miles deep. What necessitates a not total submer-

sion of all the globe, though a universal one, as to the continents inhabited by man, is the requirement for the development of organic life over the earth. The Duke of Argyll happily terms shells "the time-medals of creation." The Quaternary period is the age in which we now live. During it no new shell has appeared. There is almost no shell that is not also a living species. In it man first appears. In it great dislocations occur, and changes in the distribution of land and sea ; multitudes of beasts and preceding forms of life perished by some great destruction. Glacial conditions extended to the south ; and towards their close there was a submergence of a great part of the northern hemisphere. Man had appeared before that submergence. The Duke of Argyll states in *The Nineteenth Century* (Jan. 1891) that there are evidences near him of a 2,000-feet submersion. Similarly, Moel Trefan in the Snowdon range is covered with marine gravel 1,130 feet above the present sea. The land was sunk under the sea and then raised again out of it in our existing age. Professor Prestwich says the sea was over the Highlands of Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Russia, Germany, and Holland. Gravels, with 300 kinds of existing shells, are piled at 2,400 feet above the Mediterranean. So Darwin says of Patagonia, and other geologists of Canada and North America. The elevation of the ocean-bed and the subsidence of the land produced the Flood.

The testimony of our Lord to the historical reality of the Flood is explicit. We cannot reject it without rejecting His Divine infallibility. The words relied on for maintaining that He divested Himself of Divine knowledge when He took our manhood are in Mark xiii. 32—"Of that day or hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." But *limitation* of knowledge, IF there was such limitation, is very different from a positive ERROR in stating as fact what would be no fact if the Flood be not true. The Father at His baptism gave the Son of Man "not the Spirit by measure" (John iii. 34) ; and the Spirit not merely descended, but "abode upon Him" permanently (John i. 33 ; Isa. xi. 2). Error is incompatible with

His assertion (Matt. xi. 27), "All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father ; neither doth any know the Father save the Son." Basil, writing to Amphilocheus (vol. iii., p. 360), explains the words in Mark, "concerning that hour knoweth no one, nor the angels of God, but *not even the Son would have known it, had not the Father given Him the knowledge*" (οὐδ' ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτῷ ὑπῆρχε δεδομένη ἡ γνώσις). Another explanation suggested by Canon Girdlestone is that, as the Father's Ambassador, He knew, but not officially, so as to be warranted to impart what the Father withheld from man to the disciples.

Job refers alike to the Fall and the Flood as recognized facts : xxxi. 33, "If I covered my transgression as Adam by hiding," &c. ; xxii. 15, "Hast thou marked the old way which wicked men have trodden ? which were cut down out of time, whose foundation was overflowed with a flood ; which said unto God, Depart from us, and what can the Almighty do for them ? Yet He filled their houses with good things." Here we have two features of the moral state of the antediluvians, which foreshadow that of apostate Christendom in the last days just before the Lord's return—unbelieving selfishness, and unthankfulness (see 2 Tim. iii. 2).

Gen. vi. 11 gives another feature, viz., violence. The Authorized Version, with the Septuagint and Syriac, translate Gen. vi. 4, "There were *giants*" ; the Revised Version leaves the Hebrew "*nephilim*" untranslated. Rather translate "*violent* men," answering to ver. 13, "The earth was filled with *violence* through them" ; such as was the Cainite Lamech (chap. iv. 22, 24). The Hebrew means literally, "fallers upon men." They shall have their counterpart in "the lawless one," and his Antichristian followers, "whom the Lord shall destroy by the brightness of His coming" (2 Thess. ii. 7, 8).

But what ripened the world for judgment was not merely the presence of these, "but also *after that*" came the crowning aggravation of the pre-existing corruption ; "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them, wives of all that they chose." The phrase is this rather than "the sons of men went in to the daughters of God,"

because women influence husbands as to religion or irreligion, rather than *vice versâ*. The children of this unspiritual union were "the mighty men of old, the men of renown"; but before God they were only *mean, weakly men* (so the Hebrew *anshee* means). Some have understood *angels* to be meant here by "the sons of God," but what is fatal to this view is "angels neither marry nor are given in marriage" (Luke xx. 34-36), whereas here the words "they took wives" imply *marriage*, not mere cohabitation. In Jude 6 the comparison of the Sodomites' sin, "going after strange flesh," to the sin of the angels who "kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation," implies not that the angels cohabited with the daughters of men, a different race from themselves, but that the angels' ambition, whereby their affections strayed from God, the true and only satisfying object of love, to creaturely desires, whereby they fell, is a sin spiritually analogous to Sodom's going from God's order of nature after strange flesh. The corruption of the best is the worst possible corruption (*corruptio optimi pessima*). "Salt is good, but if the salt have lost its savour, it is good for nothing but to be trodden underfoot of men." When the Church, which was designed to be the salt of the earth, has lost the savour of the Holy Spirit, and has become as carnal as the world which it was designed to spiritualize, in God's retributive righteousness, it must perish with the world. So long as the corruption was restricted to the openly godless Cainites, God's judgment was suspended; but when the sons of God,¹ that is the Sethites (chap. iv. 26) formed unequal alliances in marriage with the daughters of the earthy Adam, the wall of separation between the Church and the world was broken down, and the tide of universal corruption rushed in. The only remedy was universal judgment.

"When nations are to perish for their sins,
'Tis in the Church the leprosy begins."

¹ The designation "sons of God" is not restricted to angels (Job i. 6). It applies also to believers in every age (Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; xxxii. 5; Hosea i. 10). The sons of God and the daughters of men mean two species of one genus (ha-Adam, ver. 1 men).

Our Lord, in describing men before the Flood, does not notice the lawless violence and infidelity of the age, but fixes on its intense *worldliness*. "They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage (not "marrying in the Lord") until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the Flood came and destroyed them all" (Luke xvii. 27). The absence of the connecting "*and*" marks the complete absorption in worldly things without repose. "After the same manner shall it be in the day when the Son of Man is revealed."

God said (Gen. vi. 3), "My Spirit shall not always *rule* (*yadon* : literally *judge*) in man." Heretofore my Spirit has ruled the professing sons of God, but shall no longer do so, "for that he also" (*Beshagam hua* : *הוּא בְּשָׁגַמְתִּי* : from *be, sh* the relative, for *asher* and *gam* : "*in that also he*") "*is flesh*," i.e., the Sethite professor also, like the godless Cainite, has become carnal. Flesh will not be ruled by the Spirit (John iii. 6 ; Rom. viii. 4-9) ; so it must be given over to judgment" (Gal. vi. 8). The eternal principle of God's dealings with the visible Church is, if she compromise her high calling for the sake of the ungodly world, as she shares the world's sin, so must she share the world's punishment. God gives her over to fleshliness and its natural and necessary consequence, destruction. One and the same word in Greek expresses *corruption* and *destruction*, so inseparable are they (*φθορά* ; 1 Cor. iii. 17, "If any man *corrupt* the temple of God, which temple ye are, him will God *corrupt*," i.e., destroy, *φθειρεί, φθερεῖ*). The same principle is alike stated in the Old Testament and the New. Gal. vi. 8, "He that soweth to his own flesh, shall of his flesh reap corruption." "*Thine own* wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee : know therefore and see that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken Jehovah thy God" (Jer. ii. 19).

One striking incidental proof of the authenticity of Genesis and Exodus is, as Canon Cook remarks, that we find Egyptian words used in these books, which certainly would not have had them, had the author not been intimately acquainted with the Egyptian language ; this peculiarity of language exactly

answers to the environments of Moses, as also to those of his hearers and readers. No author would have given the Egyptian words without explanation of their meaning, unless he knew that his hearers would have been equally familiar with them as himself. The word for "ark" (תֵּבָה *teebah*) occurs twenty-eight times in the Pentateuch, twenty-six in Genesis, for Noah's ark, and twice in Exodus for Moses' ark of bulrushes. The word for the Ark of the Covenant is different (*aron*). *Teebah* is very common in Egyptian hieroglyphics for a *chest*, or else a *cradle*; it suggests the form of a vessel of burden of vast capacity rather than of a ship sailing over the waters. The Septuagint leaves the Hebrew untranslated (θιβω), as being a well-known Egyptian word. The name Moses itself, according to M. Brugsch in his hieroglyphic dictionary, is Egyptian, and means "drawing out." It was a very common name under the Middle Empire, and was borne by a Prince of the Egyptian blood-royal, who was Viceroy of Nubia under the nineteenth dynasty.

The words in chap. vi. 3, "My Spirit shall not always *judge* in man" (that is, "perform the judicial office, convicting the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment," John xvi. 8), shed light on the debated passage (1 Peter iii. 18-20): "Christ once suffered, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit." The Sinaitic, Alexandrine, and Vatican manuscripts omit the article "the" before "Spirit." The antithesis, "put to death in the flesh," requires us to translate "quickened in the spirit." He had lived like mortal men in the flesh till His death, but when "quickened in spirit" by the Holy Spirit, who raised His body from the dead at His resurrection (Rom. i. 4; viii. 11), He henceforth lived the resurrection life whereby He has power to bring us to God (ver. 21); by which same Spirit also He "went" (προεβη) not in bodily presence, but as long afterwards "He came and preached peace" by His Spirit in the Apostles after His death and ascension (Eph. ii. 17). His Spirit in Noah "preached unto the spirits in prison." The Greek word for "preached" here means *heralded* (ἐκήρυξεν); and that it is His *heralding* the message of righteousness, or else

doom, to the antediluvian world *by His Spirit in Noah* that is here meant, is proved by 2 Peter ii. 5. There the very same word (*κήρυξ*) is used in Greek. "Noah, the eighth person, a *herald* of righteousness." "Quickened" can only refer to the *resurrection* of Christ's BODY in connection with the "Spirit," which is the *organizing principle* (in the power of the Holy Spirit) *of the spiritual body* (1 Cor. xv. 44). *His Spirit never died*; therefore its "quickening" can only refer to the quickening of His BODY in connection with His Spirit at His resurrection by the Holy Spirit. "For 120 years," "the Spirit of Jehovah in Noah" judicially dealt with men's consciences, "the long-suffering of God waiting all the time that the ark was a preparing." All those years the antediluvians were prisoners in the world, as in one great condemned cell, awaiting execution. This is the very image in Isa. xxiv. 22, which describes the world before the Lord's coming to judgment upon apostate Christendom: "They shall be gathered together as *prisoners* are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited." Isaiah here described the coming doom in the very language which Genesis vii. 11 uses of the flood: "The windows of heaven were opened"—"The windows from on high are opened." Thus, "the spirits in prison" were the antediluvians who, in a spiritual point of view, were "prisoners." To them Christ's Spirit in Noah, His herald (as in all the prophets: 1 Peter i. 11) testified. The "sometime" ("aforetime," R.V.) is joined to "were disobedient," because *their disobedience preceded his preaching*, or heralding. The reason of his preaching was "inasmuch as they were *aforetime* disobedient" (*ἐκήρυξεν ἀπειθήσασί ποτε*). In our dispensation similarly the Spirit of Jesus is now pleading with the spirits in Satan's prison (Isa. lxi. 1, 2; Luke iv. 18). When this testimony shall have been fulfilled, He will take His people to Himself, withdraw His Spirit from the disobedient Christendom, and visit it in judgment.

In Gen. ix. 8, 9 God uses the same formula, "I, behold, I," in giving His word for the restoration of the habitable world, as previously in chap. vi. 17 He had used as to

destroying it. He who smites is He who heals. His covenant was with Noah, and his sons, and their "seed," especially with the coming Seed, the Head of Redemption, for whose sake God made His covenant with mankind and every living creature. As it is His relation to *the world* as its Divine Preserver which is described, the name *Elohim*, "God," is here used; not *Jehovah*, which would express His covenant relations with *His own people*.

God, in verse 1, 2, repeats the promise He had made to Adam in Gen. i. 28. God gave *universal Headship over the earth* to four only. Of these, three failed in their trust—Adam, Noah, and Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxvii. 6; Dan. ii. 38); the Fourth alone, the Lord Jesus, shall fulfil the trust as God's Vicegerent, and man's Saviour and wide-world King (Ps. viii. 5-8).

The Authorised Version, if accepted, Gen. ix. 10, "I establish My covenant with every living creature [? in the case], of every beast of the earth with you; from [?] all that go out of the ark, to [?] every beast of the earth," gives a hint that the Flood drowned only the animals of man's habitable world; the words, "to every beast of the earth," being distinguished from those in the ark. But the Revised Version, "of all that go out of the ark, *EVEN* every beast of the earth," would not favour this distinction.

The objection has been started, that the rainbow was in the cloud ages before the Flood, whereas God says in Gen. ix. 13, "I do set My bow in the cloud." But the Hebrew for "make" and "set" means *give* and *give*. "This is the token of the covenant which I *give*. I do *give* My bow in the cloud" [נתתי-נה]. It is God's *gift* of grace. It was seen previously, but God now "appoints" it as a pledge of His covenant. God took the rainbow, which was previously a *natural* object of sight, and elevated it to a *spiritual* significance: as a stone once meaningless is made a boundary to mark an inheritance. The flood-rains had come from the clouds, and were to be feared from them again. The rainbow in the clouds was the fittest sign to allay such fears. God calls it *My* bow; for the promise with its pledge was the gift

of God's grace. The rainbow *seen everywhere* is a pledge that God's covenant is given to men *of every land*.

In Revelation iv. 3 the emerald rainbow round Jehovah's throne is a pledge that His people are safe amidst judgments on the apostate world ; for He remembers His covenant of which the rainbow is the sign (Ez. i. 28). In verses 15, 16, and 17 God mentions the "covenant," *seven* times ; the "token," *three* times ; the "bow," *three* times ; His "establishing His covenant," *three* times ; and His "remembering" it, *twice*. The sacred *seven* is the seal of the covenant. *Three* answers to the Trinity. The *twice* or doubling implies infallible *certainty* ; as in Gen. xli. 32. What sweet consolation to the believer in God's promise confirmed with the oath by Himself (Heb. vi. 13-18), "I, behold, I." "For when God made promise, because He could swear by no greater, He swore by Himself." "Wherein God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of His counsel, confirmed it by an oath." "That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us." "The bow shall be seen in the cloud" (ver. 14) ; "seen" by God, that He may remember His everlasting covenant (Isa. liv. 7-13) ; "seen" by man, to assure him of God's faithfulness to His word of grace. The earthly rainbow is but a half circle ; the rainbow round Jehovah's throne is the complete circle, typifying God's perfection, eternity, and all embracing grace. The prismatic colours combining to form one white ray symbolize God's attributes uniting in one harmonious whole. They also represent His providences and dispensations combining in the one plan of redemption which emanates from the Sun of Righteousness. As the water points back to the Flood, and the red in the bow represents fiery judgment to come (2 Peter iii. 10, 12), so the refreshing green represents consolation to believers, grace triumphing over wrath. The saints shall be lifted up to share the throne of the Son of Man, at His return to reign as Lord of all !

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GEHENNA AND HELL.

THE power of phrases over the human mind is a mysterious subject, of a range and intensity that, perhaps, will never be fully ascertained. And there is hardly any department of thought over which the tyranny of phrases holds such sway as the realm of theology. For every single truth of revelation, every dogma or belief that is based upon it, has been over and over disputed until it has gathered round itself a whole mass of ideas, welded to it on the anvil of controversy ; so that any mention of a phrase which has become at all familiar in theology at once calls up to our minds all those encrusted ideas which it connotes. And the very sanctity of the study with which they are associated, and the length and fierceness of the controversy which has raged over the doctrine implicated, seem to preclude us from searching into the original and strict meaning of the phrase in question, or attempting to dissect from off it the wrappings in which time and controversy have involved the original idea. Words which to the writers of the Old or New Testaments were common colloquial expressions have often acquired a highly technical significance by the misunderstandings and perversions of the Middle Ages, and the subsequent struggles of the orthodox to free them from the false conclusions to which they had been made to point, until it often becomes a matter of the greatest difficulty to determine what the original sense of the word was in the minds of those who first employed it to make known Divine truth, and how far the ideas which it connotes to us are, or are not, the growth of later misconceptions with which the course of time has invested them. But it is one of the most necessary operations that lie before the advanced stage of theological criticism at which we are now arriving thus to discriminate between the original and proper ideas of Scriptural phrases and the superadded significance of later controversies. For instance, in the subject of Eschatology,

which has been attracting an attention lately not at all in excess of its intrinsic importance, how much are we still under the dominion of phrases which have become familiar in connection with it ; what distinct groups of ideas are connoted to our minds by each of them, and how seldom do we take the pains to ascertain how far any of those ideas are such as were properly expressed by them in the usage of Scriptural writers ! Sheol and Hades, Gehenna and Hell, all call up distinct images to our minds ; and, in the present state of general feeling, the distinctness of those associated ideas is calculated to affect seriously the current of popular belief. The chief ground for the wide acceptance of the doctrine known as Universalism, or Eternal Hope (for which there is certainly as little warrant to be drawn by any strict deduction from the words of revelation as for any of the competing doctrines), lies in the instinct to reject the material horrors and physical torments which are connoted in our minds by the word Hell. And as we cannot now use such terms as Salvation or Damnation without reading that word into them, and taking it to connote those mediæval horrors and torments, it is a fact that there is no cause which accounts for so much of the artisan infidelity of the day, in the recoil from those mediæval ideas which, in the general presentment of religion to men's minds, are inseparably bound up with Christianity.

It is far from our present purpose to attempt to solve the general questions of eschatology.. Indeed, we should be loth to maintain positively that they are all soluble in our present state of knowledge and capacity of judgment. "Variety of judgments and opinions argueth obscurity in those things whereabout they differ" ; and there are few questions on which Hooker's *dictum* may be accepted as more obviously true than eschatology. But it is at least desirable that we should not import any unnecessary obscurity into the question by forcing ideas into association with it which do not properly belong to revealed truth. It is worth while, therefore, to investigate whether our generally received ideas of material torture are properly conveyed by the words of Christ and the usage of the inspired writers or not ; and then we shall be at

least in a better position to argue from the *data* presented to us which of the conflicting conclusions of eschatologists have the most sure warrant in the truths revealed of the future world.

In the case of the earlier terms by which that future world was designated, certainly these mediæval ideas are not expressed. The Hebrew Sheol was simply the counterpart of the Greek Hades ; it was the abode of departed spirits, the great unseen realm that lies beyond "that bourne whence no traveller returns"—where no eye of man can follow the departed, to track their flight or ascertain their state. The belief in a future existence is not only a matter of revelation ; indeed, the light that the earlier records of revelation throw upon the question is very dim. And one of the most common beliefs among tribes to whom revelation is unknown is the Manes-worship, which is said to be the practical religion to this day of the largest part of the human race. Indeed, it is so very general that the hagiology of a large proportion of Christendom is but the survival under a Christian dress of the Manes-worship of dead chiefs, whom the pious ignorance of paganism supposes to be still from the unseen world watching over their own people, helping their friends, and harming their enemies. But neither Sheol nor Hades were necessarily places of torment. The belief of the Jews, endorsed by the acceptance of Christ Himself, was that the evil were there in the anguish of remorse and anticipated retribution, like Dives *ἐν βασάνοις ὑπάρχων* ; while the righteous, though equally in Hades, reposed in the bosom of Abraham, in a felicity which is as that of Paradise (cf. Luke xvi. 22, 23 ; xxiii. 43).

There were marked differences in Hebrew belief as to future punishment. Some held that a Jew not infected with heresy or guilty of certain damning sins will remain not above a year in a sort of purgatory ; some that infidels, or pre-eminently wicked men, will be perpetually punished ; some that after a certain time the souls of the impenitent will be annihilated. But the essential idea of the Hebrew Sheol was, like Hades, simply that of an unseen world for the spirits of men—not necessarily of torment, nor, if of torment, necessarily endless or material. For the revelation made to

them did not clear up the future state at all decisively. The point on which the law and the prophets desired to fix the minds of the chosen race was the reality of God's ever-present government of the world of men ; on that their attention was so riveted, and their thoughts of duty and anticipations of reward so centred, that a future retribution, though clearly expressed in some passages, and implied in many others, is nowhere brought into such prominence as it acquired after, or insisted upon as the motive of human action. The intense realism of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the very practical sense of duty and service that they set before the people, taught them to regard God as the righteous Judge of all the world, by whom actions are weighed, and to see His judgments in all the earth. They were assured that the righteous should be recompensed in the earth, much more the wicked and the sinner. The promise of their law was length of days in a land flowing with milk and honey, and the blessings of all abundance, if they would keep the statutes and the judgments delivered unto them ; and the curse of famine and pestilence and the sword, that they should perish miserably, if they kept them not. Divine Wisdom ever spake to them with length of days in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour ; but future retribution was ever left much in the background, so that a large sect was existing at the Christian era who said there was no resurrection.

But such a tenet was clearly an error, from not knowing the Scriptures. The reality of a future state for the soul of man—an unseen world or Sheol—was clearly expressed and constantly implied in the Hebrew Scriptures ; but it was not necessarily a place of torment any more than the Hades of later belief. In his intense realism, the Hebrew saint shrank from it ; but chiefly from its visionary and unpractical gloom, and the impossibility of seeing what profit there would be in him if he went down into the pit, or how he could there praise God and declare His truth. There was no essential sense of torment in the idea of Sheol, such as we connote with our word Hell.

In the later revelation much of this is reversed : the future

world, with its rewards and punishments, is brought prominently forward ; and the spiritual life, with its endless capacities for weal or woe, is the chief feature in Christian teaching.

But a new element of that spiritual world is introduced to us, and new ideas associated with the punishment of the wicked by the mention made in the New Testament Scriptures of "Gehenna." Hades, it is true, is still brought before our minds, and that in a way which endorses the current belief of the Jews regarding it, rather than in any definite statement of its nature and conditions. But though it is unfortunately in our Authorised Version translated by the same word which stands for Hades, Gehenna in reality introduced entirely different ideas, with a special significance which we altogether miss by confusing the two together.

Gehenna, as known to the Jews, or the valley of the son of Hinnom, was a ravine that ran south and east outside the walls of Zion, originally notorious for an idol of Moloch set up in it, to which its votaries offered human sacrifices. It was one of the special sins of Ahaz, and of Manasseh after him, that they burnt their children in the fire to Moloch ; and one of the acts of Josiah's reformation was to defile Tophet (so-called from the drums, "toph," *per onomatopœiam*, like "tom-tom," which were beaten to drown the cries of the children in their death-agony), "which was in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Moloch." After those bloody rites of pagan cruelty were done away, the valley of Hinnom, which was the scene of the destruction of Sennacherib's army, and the receptacle for the thousands of polluted carcases smitten by the fiery pestilence that saved Jerusalem, was made a sewer for all the filth and refuse of the city, which huge fires were kept perpetually burning to destroy. For fire was recognized as the great purifying agent in those times ; as it is to this day the most complete disinfectant in any primitive stage of sanitary science. And when Christ spoke of a Gehenna of fire where the flame should never be extinguished and the worm that was bred

of festering corruption should never die, He employed a simile which would convey a distinct and definite meaning to His hearers.

The very point of His allusion turned upon its connection with the great burden of His teaching, which was the establishment of a Divine civilization and government in the world; a kingdom of God seated in a heavenly city—the new Jerusalem. When He spoke of a fire of Gehenna in connection with that, His hearers would at once have before their minds a great purgation, which should burn up and consume all filth and refuse out of that Holy City, into which should in nowise enter anything that defileth or worketh abomination. The true kingdom of God, which was to be the blessing of all nations, for its perfect purity and health would have its great sanitary agent, its purifying receptacle for all that was vile and refuse; its valley of a spiritual Gehenna outside the city walls, with purgative fires kept ever burning, even as the lurid flames of the ravine of Hinnom, which made it look like a veritable lake of fire to any one who might look down on it by night from the ramparts, to consume all that would contaminate and defile the purity of Divine life in men.

The figure is unmistakably connected with the avowed mission of judgment which He came to execute upon the earth, Who should thoroughly purge His floor and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire; the day of Whose coming should burn like a furnace, and all the proud and they that work wickedness should be as stubble, and His day should burn them up that it should leave them neither root nor branch. The words of Christ regarding this purgation of the world of men contain a distinct allusion to Isaiah's reference to the destruction of Sennacherib's invading army in the valley of Hinnom (xxx. 33), and almost exactly reproduce the prophet's image (lxvi. 24), where he foresaw the similar retribution of God upon the men that should transgress against Him, in the regeneration of the world, which the Redeemer's kingdom should bring about. Such use of the term Gehenna was thus perfectly familiar to His hearers, in a

figurative and prophetic sense, even as the actual fires of the valley of Hinnom were familiar in their real purificatory efficacy, and would convey images to their minds regarding which there could be little doubt or difficulty of interpretation. But much of the distinctive meaning of this most suggestive figure of Christ's teaching is lost in our translation. We render the word Gehenna by the same equivalent which stands for Sheol or Hades, neither of which have any necessary idea of punishment or purification, any connection with consuming flames, or with a heavenly kingdom and city which has to be purged from whatsoever defileth or worketh abomination.

How then has that word, by which we translate these terms indiscriminately, come to have the special sense which it bears to our ears?

It is generally forgotten that the name Hell is Teutonic in its origin, and the idea of it as a place of torture, which has ever clung to it, is chiefly pagan. "Hel in Teutonic belief was the mistress of the cold and joyless underworld . . . not the agent of death herself, she received those who had not earned their seat in Odin's hall. The realm of Hel was all that Wælhæl was not; cold, cheerless, and shadowy. For the perjurer and secret murderer Na-strond existed; a place of torment and punishment, the strand of the dead; filled with foulness, peopled with poisonous serpents, dark, cold, and gloomy. When it was thought necessary to express the idea of a place of punishment after death, the Anglo-Saxon united the realm of Hel with Na-strond to complete a hideous picture for the guilty." "In the description of Hel in the legend of Salomon and Saturn on the defeat of the rebel angels, it is said that 'God for them made Helle, a dwelling deadly cold, with winter covered; water he sent in and snake dwellings, many a foul beast with horns of iron; bloody eagles and pale adders, thirst and hunger and fierce conflict, mighty terror, joylessness'" (Kemble, *Anglo-Saxons* i. 12).

By the time that the Gospel of the kingdom was preached among the Teutons, the fire of trial by which it was foretold that Christ should try all nations had become confused with

the other judgment which He declared that He should sit to pass upon all souls after death. The lake of fire which should be kept ever burning outside the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, to purge out of it all filth and refuse, had become interwoven with superstitions of the *Lugentes Campi*, and the burning streams of Phlegethon, which the genius of Virgil had immortalized among his own countrymen, to form the groundwork of the later Latin Purgatory ; and the further identification of it with the "Hel" in which the Teutons believed was easy and direct.

There was, indeed, one difficulty that was got over in a singular way. The prevailing idea of the infernal regions in the Teutonic mind was not that of fire, but of awful cold and gloom. But in the visions and the poems of the earlier Christianized Teutons, we see curious evidence of the mingling of the two seemingly incompatible ideas, till, as the pagan notion of Hel died out, that of perpetual flames took its place. In the poem of Cædmon, we see this dual idea. God made for His rebellious angels "an exiled home, a work of retribution, Hell's groans and hard hatreds. . . . When He it ready knew, with perpetual night foul, sulphur included, *over it full fire and extensive cold, with smoke and red flame.*" Again we read, "The Almighty God placed them defeated in the black Hell. There have they for ever, for an immeasurable length, each of the fiends' fire always renewed. There comes at last *the eastern wind, the cold frost mingling with the fires.* Always fire or arrows, and some hard tortures they must have ; it was made for their punishment. They suffer the punishment of their battle against their ruler ; the fierce torments of fire in the midst of Hell ; brands and broad flames, so likewise bitter smoke, vapour and darkness."

But, perhaps, the most singular instance is to be found in the narrative of Bede ; how a man in the district of Northumbria, called Cunnithame, fell sick and died in the beginning of the night ; but in the morning early he suddenly came to life again, and related, after long silence, what he had seen. How, led by a man with a shining countenance, he came to a vale of great depth and breadth, but of infinite length : "On

the left it appeared full of dreadful flames, the other side was no less horrid for violent hail and cold snow flying in all directions ; both places were full of men's souls, which seemed by turns to be tossed from one side to another, as it were by a violent storm ; for when the wretches could no longer endure the excess of heat, they leaped into the middle of the cutting cold, and finding no rest there, they leaped back again into the middle of the unquenchable flames."

In time, as Teutonic tradition became fainter, and the Scriptures more familiar to our ancestors, the cold and gloom of " Hel " faded before the fires of Gehenna, with which the original idea of " Hel " remained nevertheless entangled. For the notion of a place of material torment, which was pagan, was never lost, but gradually usurped that of a place of sanitary purgation, consuming all abomination, which was the essential idea of the Scriptural Gehenna ; and the name with which the Teutonic mind was originally familiar became attached indiscriminately to both Hades and Gehenna ; both being distinct, in any proper meaning of the phrases, from each other and from it—to the entire obscuring of the pregnant and suggestive use of the terms by Christ and His Apostles.

No one can read the great work of that " half-heathen, half-heretic poet " (as Dean Stanley happily styled him), who has tinged the colour of all the popular theology of our English race for the last two centuries more deeply than any divine or school of theology, John Milton, without seeing how deeply he was indebted for the imagery of that Pandemonium which has been part and parcel of the creed of Puritan England ever since to the visions and poems of early Teutonic tradition. There is such a striking resemblance between the thoughts that were clad in the rugged Saxon of the lay brother of Whitby, and the polished measures of that master of elegant Latinity, who wrote *Paradise Lost*, that we can hardly escape from the conclusion that the later writer was directly inspired by the former one. The rebellion of the angels which kept not their first estate, their levying war against high heaven, with all the material accessories of their warfare, and the ruthless revenge taken by the *Deus Victor*, are ideas identical

in Cædmon and in Milton. The only difference is that in the one the Satanic host fight with the undisciplined ferocity of a band of Saxon ravagers from their keels, and are punished as the invading Norsemen were hewn and shot with arrows at Brunanburh, and their corpses given to the sallowy kite and the swarthy raven with horned nib ; while the Miltonic rebels were distinctly feudal tenants who had challenged their overlord "in dubious battle on the plains of heaven," with all the points of chivalry ; and, being worsted, were cast into "a dungeon horrible on all sides round " as into a Norman keep. But the main ideas of Cædmon and of Milton are so identical that we must conclude a direct relation between them ; and the idea of material torment is markedly the same in both, with constant reproduction of distinctly Teutonic images of torture and revenge.

But the paganism which the genius of John Milton has worked into the tissue of English belief is far from being wholly derived from Teutonic source. Steeped as he was to the lips in classic lore, Virgil as surely led Milton by the hand in his visions of the infernal regions as he led Dante to his Inferno. Only Dante was honest enough, and lived near enough to the times when Virgil was counted a Father of the Church, to own that the shade of Virgil was his master and guide :—

" From whose song
Alone the beauty which brings fame I took ;
To thee my style and honour both belong " (*Inferno*, Canto i.).

It is strange how in Dante, who confessedly drew his inspiration from classical sources, the dual idea of Hell is unmistakably pronounced. Charon ferries him over

" This flood to waft ye to the other side,
To dwell in endless night with *fire and frost* " ;

and in the third circle of Hell he found

" Rain eternal, cursed grievous cold,
Great hail, discoloured water, driving snow,
For ever pouring through the darkened air."

It is strange, too (or would be, did we not know the common Aryan origin of the Teutonic and Romanic nations), to notice

how another common character of Hel keeps cropping up in the "poisonous serpents" and "pale adders" of Na-strond, and the similar vision of Dante of the "terrible crowd"

"Of serpents in their kind so strange to see
E'en yet their memory chills my very blood.
No more let Libya boast her sands, though she
Chelydra, Jaculus, Pareus own;
Though Cenchrus too, and Amphibæna be
Her brood; so many plagues she ne'er hath known."

But the direct debt which Milton owes to Virgil is unmistakable. The "*rapidus flammis torrentibus amnis Tartareus Phlegethon*" of the *Æneid* meets us again in

"Fierce Phlegethon,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage,"

which runs in Miltonic verse on this side of the "frozen continent" that

"Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems
Of ancient pile; or else deep snow and ice
A gulf profound";

where

"The parching air
Burns froze, and cold performs the effect of fire";

with the usual mixed metaphors of Teutonic infernology, even as Shakespeare consigns the lost spirit

"To bathe in *fiery* floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed *ice*."

The feudal tenants of Milton's Pandemonium,

"Who dared defy th' Omnipotent to arms,"

have their direct origin in the denizens of Virgil's Tartarus, the "*genus antiquum Terræ, Titania pubes, fulmine dejecti*." Name by name we find the

"Ionian gods of Javan's issue,"

and

"Titan with his enormous brood,"

in strange companionship with Moloch and Chemos, Baal and Ashtaroth, Thammuz and Dagon; and even "Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train," mingled in a common company with Satan and his angels. A heterogeneous mixture of Teutonic tradition, classic and Romance lore, and ill-digested Scriptural

reading, which the "half-heathen, half-heretic poet" worked up into his Pandemonium, and with his exquisite poetic art and stately diction has impressed so deeply on the beliefs of his countrymen that its mark will never (in all probability) be wholly effaced from the religious thought of England or English-speaking people.

Hence it has come to pass that the notion of Hell in popular theology is distinctly Miltonic; and being Miltonic, it may be traced back on the one side to the pagan fancies of our Saxon and Norse forefathers, and on the other to the classical myths of Tartarus which Virgil and Ovid, Homer and Hesiod, have handed down. But that popular notion has very slight connection indeed with the Sheol or Hades of revelation, or the Gehenna which has such a marked and characteristic sense in connection with the teaching of Christ. It is of infinite importance with a view to our right understanding of the proper teaching of Holy Writ, on such a subject, that we should be able to shake ourselves free from any preconceived notions, which may have come we know not whence, and base our belief on the plain statements of revealed truth, or the conclusions which properly and necessarily flow from them.

In such deep mysterious questions, which lie confessedly beyond the range of human experience and finite faculties to ascertain, we should be unwilling to trust ourselves one step further than as Scripture doth lead us by the hand. It may be that in the recoil from one set of ungrounded fancies and false conclusions we may be in danger of falling into other errors as unfounded and misleading. And the only way to preserve the just balance of truth is to free ourselves alike from the pagan fancies which have become encrusted round our vernacular phrase, and from the vague aspirations of modern sentiment, and to seek our knowledge of that great unseen world in which the future existence of man has its destination in the true appreciation of what has been revealed in Light Divine, as God hath spoken to man by His servants the prophets, and in that alone.

W. A. MATHEWS.

HILKIAH'S BOOK OF THE LAW.

A STUDY IN MODERN CRITICISM.

2 KINGS xxii. 8 ; 2 CHRON. xxxiv. 15.

WHAT was this Book of the Law which Hilki'ah the priest represented he had found in the temple in the eighteenth year of Josiah (B.C. 625)? and who wrote it? Round these two questions controversy has long and hotly raged. On the one hand, it has been contended that the book could have been no other than the Pentateuch as it now exists in our canonical Scriptures, and that it proceeded substantially in its present form from the pen of Moses; on the other hand, it has been as confidently asserted that this belief has been blown into the air—that the theory of a veritable, perhaps autograph, copy of the five books of Moses having survived from the period of the conquest down to the middle of the seventh century B.C. without having been known, and of its having then been discovered in the temple just when needed to originate or to help on Josiah's reformation, will not hold water—that, whatever Hilki'ah's book was, it could not have been the *bonâ fide* composition of the Hebrew law-giver, but must have been the handiwork of some eminent, though unknown, literary artist who flourished at or near the time when, for the exigencies of the moment, it was brought to light. It is obvious both views cannot be correct; it is possible both may be partly right and partly wrong. It is useful to review the principal evidence on the above questions, so far as can be done in a brief article, in the hope of arriving at some definite conclusion as to the exact truth on the subject, and of determining, should that be possible, how far the truth, as ascertained, has a bearing on the much-agitated problems of how Israelitish history should be read and the Hebrew Scriptures arranged.

The two branches of inquiry which ought to be kept apart—viz., What was Hilki'ah's Book of the Law? and who wrote it?—are sometimes improperly commingled. If, as

conservative theologians for the most part assert, the volume in question was the entire Pentateuch, that would not prove Hilki'ah's book to have been written by Moses; while, if, as the newer criticism maintains, it was only a portion of the present Pentateuch, this would not prevent the Hebrew law-giver from having been its author. Accordingly, the question as to its contents shall be first investigated; and, after that, the problem of its date.

I. WHAT WAS HILKIAH'S BOOK OF THE LAW?

The investigation of this question must be reserved for another occasion. We would here simply remark that a careful consideration of the state of evidence shows that not only can it not be proved that the discovered volume (mentioned in 2 Kings xxii. 8) was, but sundry indications reveal that it could hardly have been, Deuteronomy alone. Not only is there nothing in the narratives of second Kings and second Chronicles concerning the book that cannot be explained (if not so readily, at least sufficiently) without the help of Deuteronomy, and with the aid only of the other books, but there are some things in these narratives which cannot be understood if one is restricted to the use of Deuteronomy alone. It seems, therefore, impossible to concede that the case has been made out that Hilki'ah's MS. was the fifth book of the present-day Pentateuch alone, or that sufficient cause has been shown for doubting that it was the other four as well.

II. WHO WROTE HILKIAH'S BOOK OF THE LAW?

In the further prosecution of this inquiry it is proposed, for argument's sake, to assume that Hilki'ah's book was Deuteronomy, and to consider whether solid ground can be reached from which to pronounce upon its authorship; and from this curtailment of the subject of inquiry one advantage will be reaped. Attention will be fixed upon the main point at issue between the Old Theology and the New. Both agree that the first four books of Moses originated at another time than the middle of the seventh century B.C.; conservative theologians ascribing them to the Hebrew law-giver, while advanced criticism places them partly in the time of the early kings (the Jehovistic History-Book) and partly after the

exile (the Priest Code). The two schools differ as to the origin and authorship of Deuteronomy. Traditional opinion asserts that it proceeded as an actual written document from the pen of Moses; the newer critics place its composition some time between the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah: Ewald, Riehm, and Bleek say in the reign of Manasseh; Bohlen and Colenso, in the reign of Josiah; but whether by Hilkiah, Jeremiah, or one or more authors belonging to the patriotic prophetic-priestly party is uncertain. It was published by this party as a reform programme, and was put into the mouth of Moses, it is not now said, as a "clever forgery,"¹ which its author wished to palm off upon his contemporaries as the veritable work of Moses, but as an ideal composition from which he hoped his countrymen would understand how "Moses would have written had he been recalled to life for this purpose."² Into the motives which may have actuated the so-called Deuteronomist it is not necessary to inquire; the main point to be determined is who this Deuteronomist was, whether Moses, or a "keen-sighted man" who flourished in the days of Josiah, who, like Paul, must have been distinguished above many of his equals for literary skill as well as for moral and religious earnestness, and must have been well known to his confederates in the "pious" plot they so happily carried through, but who, nevertheless, so successfully preserved his incognito that ever since he vanished from the earth his disciples have been no more able to recover a trace of his existence, not even so much as his name, than the sons of the prophets after a three days' search were to light upon the dead body of Elijah their master.

The principal considerations which, it is alleged, forbid Deuteronomy to be ascribed to the leader of the Exodus have thus been summarized by Cheyne³: (1) The use of documents manifestly later than Moses; (2) allusions to circumstances which only existed long after Moses; and (3) ideas psychologically impossible in the age of Moses; and it is freely admitted that if these statements can be made good

¹ Bohlen, *Introduction to Genesis*, vol. i., p. 265.

² Cheyne, *Jeremiah: His Life and Times*, p. 78.

³ *Jeremiah: His Life and Times*, p. 70.

with reference to the Deuteronomist, the further attempt to identify this "great unknown" with the son of Amram will require to be abandoned and victory accorded to the newer criticism with its reconstructed history of Israel.

1. *The evidence that the Deuteronomist employed documents composed long after Moses was in his grave*—it is not safe to say whether on Mount Pisgah or not—consists, according to the foregoing statement, in his having referred to such supposed facts as Jacob's going down into Egypt with seventy persons (Deut. x. 22, xxvi. 5), the oppression of the Israelites and the Exodus (vi. 12, 21, 22; vii. 8, 18, 19; and often), the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea (xi. 4), the manna (viii. 3, 16), the water out of the rock (viii. 15), the temptation at Massa (vi. 16; ix. 22), the tables of stone and the golden calf (ix. 7-21), the forty years' wandering (viii. 2, 15; xi. 5), the serpents (viii. 15), and Balaam (xxiii. 5, 6). Persons not initiated in the mysteries of "scientific criticism" might in their simplicity be disposed to regard this minute acquaintance with old Israelitish history, and especially with the incidents of the wandering (i. 1—iv. 40) as an indirect attestation that the Deuteronomist was the author of the writings containing these, as well as of Hilkiah's Book of the Law; but against so extremely foolish a conclusion such "simple ones" are guarded by the reminder that Graf, Kuenen, Colenso, Dillmann, Wellhausen, and others, have "scientifically ascertained" that the documents containing these fragments of (alleged) ancient history were not compiled till the middle of the seventh century B.C., and that accordingly Moses could not have been the author of Deuteronomy. Should it be urged that, even on the hypothesis of the late date of these so-called Jahvist memorials, it is not self-evident that Moses could not have written Deuteronomy, since (unless what the Jahvist reports be repudiated as unauthentic, as fiction and not fact, legend and not history, *i.e.*, unless the incidents recorded by the seventh century narrator never actually happened) Moses, who by the supposition lived in the midst of those events, would be as likely to know and to be able to give an account of them in his book, Deuteronomy, as the

Jahvist some centuries later in his—should this consideration be urged, the sole answer forthcoming is that “our author” (*i.e.* the Deuteronomist) “derived his material from more than one source, his secondary authority being sometimes popular tradition, sometimes, perhaps, his own creative imagination.” That is to say, the Deuteronomist affords indication of having been a romancist and not a historian; and therefore of having been a different person from Moses; and the indication of this he offers is that he alludes to certain (supposed) events which are declared to have been not events at all, but merely popular legends first put together about the middle of the eighth century B.C. In other words, the above-cited fragments of Israelitish history could neither have been penned nor dictated by Moses, because they are unhistorical, *i.e.*, unbelievable; and inasmuch as the fifth book of the Pentateuch betrays a literary dependence on these same “fragments of Israelitish history,” it also must have emanated from another hand than that of the great law-giver. Thus the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy is practically made to turn upon the credibility or non-credibility of the story of the exodus and the wanderings. To enter on an adequate discussion of this would far exceed the limits permissible to the present article. The passages paraded by Graf, Colenso, Cheyne, and others, as proofs that the middle books of the Pentateuch are unhistoric have been repeatedly dealt with and triumphantly shown to be such accounts as could only have been produced by an eye-witness, or at least a contemporaneous writer; and indeed it argues no small boldness in the face of the minute topographical and geographical accuracy, both as to Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula which the Pentateuchal narrative exhibits, and of the remarkable confirmations of its story which have been recently brought to light by archæological research, both in Egypt and the desert, to maintain that the story of the oppression, exodus, and wandering of the Israelites is nothing more than a collection of popular legends, and therefore could not have been composed by Moses, but must have been first collected by a literary artist who flourished before the downfall of Samaria.

2. Among the *allusions to circumstances which existed long after the time of Moses* are cited these—the occurrence of the phrase “the elders of the city” (Deut. xix. 12, &c.), the laws of contracts (chaps. xv., xxiii., xxiv.), of inheritance (chap. xxi.), and, above all, of war (chap. xx.). In particular it is said “the fact that in Deut. xx. the law-giver distinctly contemplates wars of foreign conquest, brings down the date of the law below the period of David.” So “the law regulating the kingship is proved by its contents to be later than the time of Solomon, whose dangerous tendencies are not obscurely alluded to (xvii. 14-20); the law confining the right of sacrificing to the tribe of Levi to be later than the Mosaic age (even in the widest sense of the term), later than the times of David and Solomon (2 Sam. iii. 18; vi. 13, 14; xxiv. 25; 1 Kings viii. 62, 63), later than Jeroboam (1 Kings xii. 31), and probably later than Azariah (2 Chron. xxvi. 16-21); the warnings against the lower forms of prophecy (xviii. 10-12) to be not earlier than the first of the great succession of prophetic teachers of a moral and spiritual religion, Amos and Hosea; the prohibition of star worship (iv. 19; xvii. 3) to be not earlier than the Assyrian period; and lastly, the law restricting sacrifices and festival observances to the temple at Jerusalem (xii. 5-27; xvi. 1-17) to be later certainly than Mesha's Moabitish inscription (Moabite Inscription, line 18), and later, almost certainly, than the reign of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4).” Here again one asks whether Dr. Cheyne is serious in inviting his readers to believe that, on the supposition that Moses and his countrymen had lately come from Egypt, at that time the centre of the world's civilization, a land of cities and temples, of trade and commerce, of law and justice, of kings and nobles, of soldiers and wars, Moses could never have anticipated, even without supernatural inspiration, that his countrymen or their descendants would in course of time attain to a settled condition of life in the land whither they were going, that they would possess cities, enter into business, acquire estates, seek to have a king and plunge into war, even wars of foreign conquest? Modern criticism must have a humble idea of the intellect of the Hebrew leader, if

it assumes that he could not, to some extent at least, have forecast the "natural development" of the people he was leading, and a lower conception still of his sagacity if it imagines he either would or could not have furnished them with instructions as to how they should act in the different situations that were almost certain to arise. Unless it be postulated that Moses was unable to see an inch beyond the horizon of the Sinaitic Waste, it may be taken for granted that he both intended and expected his followers to become a settled population, dwelling in cities possessed of something like municipal government, carrying on business, making contracts, executing wills, leaving inheritances, and even projecting wars; and if so, he would have been a strange "father of his people" had he left them without a word of counsel about their future. The truth is, that the thought of his having done so would never have occurred to modern criticism had it not been for the fear that such wise prevision of the future would by many be ascribed to supernatural assistance rather than to natural sagacity, and be cited as an instance of prophetic foresight rather than as an example of political discernment. But apart altogether from the miraculous, it is pure assumption—not to say simple nonsense—to affirm that a document which alludes, and because it alludes, to kings and subjects, cities and elders, business and contracts, wars and conquests, could not have been written by Moses, who had lately come out of Egypt, "the incomparable culture land of the old world," as Franz Delitzsch¹ calls it, where all these forms of civilization were "familiar in the mouth as household words," but must have been composed *post eventus*, after all these forms of civilization had risen in Canaan, *i.e.*, by one who lived in the days of the monarchy. If this be so, then no one can ever have prophesied of things to come.

Hence, applying this canon to Deuteronomy, one may argue that the eighth century B.C. Jerusalem critics, unless they were lamentably deficient in intelligence, must have perceived at a glance that Deuteronomy could not have been

¹ *Zeitschrift für Kirckliche Wissenschaft*, &c. 1880, p. 506.

"given by Moses," as Shaphan alleged, but must have proceeded from one who had seen cities, contracts, wars, and kings in Palestine; and, if so, what becomes of the little plan of the reforming party to get the people to believe that Hilkiash's book was a work of Moses? Nay, as it is certain the Deuteronomist desired his book to be received as having proceeded from Moses, how did he so far forget the above canon of interpretation as to make Moses allude to cities and elders, contracts and inheritances, kings and wars, when these had not then come into existence in Palestine? Surely Moses deserved better at his follower's hands than to be stultified in this way! At least, this follower might have taken care to show that Moses knew better than to allude to cities and elders, contracts and inheritances, wars and kings, which had not then come into fashion in Israel! And so he does—for one must deal fairly even with the Deuteronomist. According to him, Moses alludes to cities and inheritances and wars and kings, not as institutions that then existed in Israel, but as institutions that should afterwards arise. But if the Deuteronomist felt at liberty to make Moses allude to these distant developments as things that should subsequently come to pass, why should not Moses himself have been free to do the same? As for the law regulating the kingship being proved by its contents to be later than Solomon, one may be excused for suggesting that even this is not axiomatic. If the practices against which the future king was directed to guard—viz., the multiplication of horses, wives, and silver and gold—were special sins of Solomon, that does not prove Solomon to have been unacquainted with the prohibition, but merely that he did not respect it. Neither from his failure to obey the law can it be inferred that Deuteronomy did not then exist, but merely that Solomon was not so well versed in his Bible as he ought to have been. Besides, if the law of the king was not made or written until after the days of Solomon, where was the sense in telling them not to set a foreigner upon the throne, when the crown had for centuries been established in the dynasty of David? And what was

the use of suggesting that the people might be tempted to return to Egypt? A caution like this, natural enough when addressed to people lately come from Egypt, was practically meaningless when offered to the Israelites in the days of the monarchy, 500 years after the Exodus. Then although it cannot be certified that Solomon wrote out a copy of the law with his own hand and read therein all the days of his life—which might have been to his advantage had he done so—it can just as little be deduced from this that no such commandment had been given. As for the reasoning which places Deuteronomy later than the times of David and Solomon because of the law confirming the right of sacrificing to the tribe of Levi (Deut. xviii. 5 ; xxi. 5), its validity could be acknowledged only if the right of sacrificing in the tabernacle had belonged to other tribes prior to the times of David and Solomon. It is frequently asserted that such was the case, and no one doubts that in the early history of Israel individuals often acted as their own priests; but not even Wellhausen has succeeded in showing that in the tabernacle-worship at Shiloh, Nob, or Gibeon any one could officiate but a member of the tribe of Levi. Similarly, the contention that the warnings in Deuteronomy against the lower forms of prophecy (xviii. 10-12) relegate this book to a date not earlier than the times of Amos and Hosea and, almost certainly, than Hezekiah, proceeds upon the extraordinary hypothesis that the Israelites had never heard of diviners, enchanters, witches, charmers, consultants with familiar spirits, wizards, or necromancers until the eighth century B.C. ; as if Balaam the son of Beor had not, six centuries before, said, "Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel";¹ and as if it had not been written in the Jehovistic history-book, which, according to Wellhausen,² dates from the early days of the monarchy, that Joseph, one of the most distinguished of their ancestors, was acquainted with the art of divination.³ So, to ground the late date of

¹ Num. xxiii. 23.

² *Geschichte Israel's*, p. 9.

³ Gen. xlv. 5.

Deuteronomy on its denunciations of star-worship as if the adoration of the host of heaven had never been practised in or known to Israel until the times of Amos and Hosea, is to overlook the fact that with such worship Israel had been familiar in Egypt, and that both Amos and Stephen accuse the Israelites of having declined into such idolatry in the wilderness. Schrader's reading of the text in Amos,¹ "So will ye take up Sakkuth your god and Kewan your star-god and your images which ye have made, and I will carry you away into captivity beyond Damascus," while permissible, as the Revised Version allows, is not so surely established as to exclude the interpretation of Stephen that the prophet alluded to Israel's idolatry in the wilderness as that which had reproduced itself in, and was hastening the downfall of, Samaria. To infer from the restriction of sacrifices and festival observances to the temple at Jerusalem which Deuteronomy is supposed to enjoin—though it does not once mention either Jerusalem or the temple—that Deuteronomy could not have been composed before the days of Jehoshaphat or Hezekiah, is a specimen of reasoning which makes no account of maintaining a necessary connection between premise and conclusion. To argue that, because Hosea and Amos "say nothing against the non-idolatrous worship of Jehovah at local shrines," and "Mesha states that he took altars of Jahveh from the town of Nebo," therefore Deuteronomy, which enjoins a centralized worship, was non-existent in their day, is a style of reasoning which stands in no need of refutation.

3. The third circumstance adduced to prove the non-Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy is the presence in it of *ideas psychologically impossible in the age of Moses*—those ideas being (1) the thought of giving a religious colouring to the whole of the national organization; (2) the idea of limiting the public worship of Jehovah to a single sanctuary; and (3) the notion of according solemn sanction to the exclusive claims of the Levitical priesthood. The first of these is declared to have been the logical carrying out of a conception

¹ *Die Keilinschriften*, p. 442.

of Israel which first presented itself to Isaiah, viz., that Israel was "a holy people"; the second the necessary complement of the first; and the third the legitimate development of the second. Space will not admit of lengthened reference to these so-called additional arguments, which are not so much new arguments as old arguments in new forms. Nor is lengthened reference required. When one is told by an opponent in debate that one's conceptions are psychologically impossible, one is apt to feel as if he had been detected in some grave violation of the laws of thought, found guilty of propounding a theory so palpably foolish as to make him the laughing-stock of all sensible men. But really one is at a loss to understand how Isaiah's fundamental idea, "that Israel should be a holy people," could not have occurred to Moses who, of Israelites at least, was the first to conceive the idea of forming them into a nation, and whose genius was so predominantly religious that even the most advanced criticism is unable to discover one to whom it can more hopefully trace back the Decalogue than to him; and if the Deuteronomist could recognize the absolute necessity of centralizing the worship of Jehovah if this idea of "a holy people" were to be adequately realized, it is also apparent that he discerned nothing psychologically impossible in the proposal to make Moses perceive the same; whilst even were it granted (which it is not) that the restriction of the privilege of sacrifice to the Levitical priesthood was a new departure in the days of Josiah, it is still in urgent need of demonstration that the separation of the tribe of Levi to minister before Jehovah could not have occurred to the Hebrew law-giver.

So far then as this investigation has proceeded, a candid consideration of the evidence submitted in support of the non-Mosaic or late authorship of Deuteronomy, allowing this to have been Hilkiah's Book of the Law, has made it perfectly apparent that the popular belief which ascribes this book, whether the Pentateuch in whole or in part, to the Hebrew law-giver is as yet a considerable way from having been either blown into the air or levelled with the dust.

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